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WAR & PEACE

Chou's peace bid to U.S. climaxes Afro-Asian talks

By Kumar Goshal

THE Afro-Asian conference at Bandoeng survived all inspired U.S. press stories of "splits" and "divisions," all disruptive attempts from inside and out. It ended—to the surprise of most Western correspondents, but of few Africans and Asians—with a series of resolutions unanimously pased by the 29 delegations (see box, p. 7).

Turkey, the Philippines, Ceylon and other followers of U.S. policy vehemently attacked "Communist imperialism" and praised the U.S. India's Nehru, Burma's U Nu and Indonesia's Sastroamidjojo urged peaceful co-existence and settlement of conflicts by negotiation. But tempers cooled, compromises were reached; and the 29 delegations urged the original sponsors to arrange another gathering to be held perhaps at Cairo, to which they had been invited by Egypt's Nasser.

Next week: An exclusive spread of news photos from Bandoeng.

SEEDS OF PEACE: There were indications that much was accomplished in informal talks behind the scenes. Japan's comprehensive plan for Afro-Asian economic development received thoughtful consideration from most delegations and wholehearted support from Premier Chou En-lai of China, Egypt and Syria were reported to be considering opening consulates in China as a preliminary to recognizing the Peking government. Chou signed an agreement with Indonesia, clarifying the status of Chinese residents, who were given a year to choose Indonesian or Chinese citizenship.

CHOU EN-LAI
The restraint was remarkeble

Although the final resolutions were couched in generalities, seeds were undoubtedly planted at this first, historic gathering of Afro-Asians that would bear fruit in the years to come.

CHOU—NO CHAGRIN: There was no Chou-Nehru split, as some hoped for; no speeches indicated that this was a gathering of non-whites against whites; denunciations of "Communist imperialism" recoiled against Chou En-lai's statesmanship and advocacy of free speech; and Chou refused to live up to the horrendous picture of him drawn by Washington. The conference directors, as the **New Republic** (4/25) summed it up,

> ". . . were well aware of the forces that divide Asians and Africans against themselves. It was their intention always to limit their initial gathering to generalities and they set out to make their intention effective by enacting a unanimity rule. American observers hailed this rule as a defeat for Chou En-lai in his supposed endeavor to force the conference to underwrite Peking's immediate and controversial objecttives in the Formosa Straits. But Chou, as patient as any Asian and more self-confident than most, showed none of the chagrin . . . that Americans assumed he felt . . .
>
> [Chou refuted] the image of Chinese Communism that the West has endeavored to press upon Asian minds. That image is of an expansionist and arrogant regime and it is one most Asians want to reject . . . He demonstrated both perception and strength . . . by showing remarkable restraint at Bandoeng . . ."

FORMOSA: The climax came when

(Continued on Page 7)

SMITH ACT VICTORY

Matusow confession wins a new trial for two Communists

FEDERAL Judge Edward J. Dimock on April 22 declared Harvey Matusow, former professional government informer, to be "an irresponsible witness, a man without regard for the truth" and ordered new trials for two of his victims in the New York Smith Act trial of 13 Communist Party leaders. Alexander Trachtenberg, 70, who was serving a three-year sentence in Springfield, Mo., and George Blake Charney, two years in Lewisburg, Pa., both arrived in New York City the next day and were freed in $5,000 bail each.

The Justice Dept. had "no comment" on the decision, but was "studying" it. A CP spokesman said it "should spur the Senate to begin a prompt investigation of the whole informer system" and sent a copy of it to Sen. Thomas C. Hennings (D-Mo.), chairman of the Judiciary Subcommittee on Constitutional Liberties, with a request for such a probe.

GOVERNMENT EXONERATED: Dimock wrote:

> "The newly revealed history of the development of his [Matusow's] test-

(Continued on Page 3)

Hallinan in plea for progressives to unite

By Elmer Bendiner

VINCENT HALLINAN last week triumphantly returned from prison to his position of leadership in the progressive movement. Speaking for the first time since his release from McNeil Island Federal prison, the Progressive Party's 1952 Presidential candidate addressed 1,500 persons who jammed the N.Y. City Center Casino for a Roosevelt memorial meeting sponsored by the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

The meeting also heard Dr. W. E. B. DuBois (whose speech will be published in the GUARDIAN), Mrs. Eslanda Goode Robeson, actress Karen Morley speaking for the American Labor Party, Mrs. Vivian Hallinan, Carl Marzani and singers Leon Bibb and Louise De Cormier. Cedric Belfrage was chairman.

Hallinan had served two sentences at McNeil Island—six months for contempt growing out of his defense of longshore leader Harry Bridges, 14½ months on "tax evasion" charges which were in effect the price he paid for his leadership in the PP.

UNITY THE KEY: He resumed the leadership at a time when progressives, though divided on tactical questions and embattled on many fronts, were renewing their efforts, coming out to meetings in greater numbers than in many years. To them he had one message: get together. He said:

"We act as though all communications between us has ceased and been abolished, as though there are no telephones and we can't write."

He was tough, often sarcastic, talked frankly as if in a family circle that could take plain talk. He castigated the "left-wing of the extreme left of the left-wing coalition" for calling on the PP "to lie down and die" in 1952 although "we were not consulted as to whether we were prepared to plunge into a political graveyard."

A PARTY'S ROLE: The advice itself, he said, "may have been right": parties were "tools to be used or discarded" and when needed could always be built up. For the good of the progressive cause he might be willing to "crawl into bed with Harry Truman, Tom Clark, Pat McCarran. . . ." At that point he appeared to choke and it brought down the house. He similarly collapsed when he admitted willingness to work even with Brownell and Nixon, explaining that he was putting "too much reliance on my stomach."

In an apparent reference to the much-discussed "Call for Independent Political Action" by GUARDIAN general manager McManus, he said he came out of prison to find

(Continued on Page 9)

VINCENT HALLINAN

VIVIAN HALLINAN and CEDRIC BELFRAGE

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"We two form a multitude."—OVID.

REPORT TO READERS

The rallying-point

A SHOT IN THE ARM, a sight for sore eyes and welcome as the flowers in May was the visit East last fortnight under GUARDIAN auspices of Vincent Hallinan, Progressive candidate for President in '52, and his gallant wife, Vivian.

A cheerful, relaxed crowd of New Yorkers overtaxed the capacity of the City Center Casino to greet them and the other speakers on the GUARDIAN's program. Philadelphia and Cleveland heard him, too, on succeeding days.

Perhaps no two people agreed with every political argument of the '52 candidate (see p. 1); but we heard the strong voice of national leadership, and the air was clearer when he was finished. His demand for consultation among the elements comprising the progressive movement, rather than like-it-or-lump-it theorizing, won the most universal applause. The prospect for tactical agreement among all differing points of view seemed nearer and brighter.

And of course what pleased us of the GUARDIAN most mightily was that, although we too came in for chiding among the non-consulting theorists, the visitors reserved a special niche for this paper as the chief rallying-point and medium of intercommunication on the American Left today.

WE FERVENTLY HOPE Vincent Hallinan can and will continue his hard-hitting travels. He had to leave the East almost as soon as he got here to fight his disbarment case in California this past week. But he told us all that he hoped to come back; that he wanted to take up his own project, announced after the '52 campaign, to tour the country in behalf of the common convictions which have been the basis of progressive organization throughout the U.S.A. since '48.

We strongly urge Denver, Salt Lake City, St. Louis, Louisville, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Newark, Boston, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Milwaukee, Minneapolis-St Paul, Great Falls, Spokane, Seattle, Portland and all the great centers of progressive people to make it possible for the Hallinans to visit you. We of the GUARDIAN will do our best to help make such visits successful.

The ten-fold strength of American progressives can make itself decisive for peace, jobs and rights in '56. Vincent Hallinan, twice imprisoned for his great integrity, emerging each time thrice-toughened, is a significant symbol of that strength.

—THE EDITORS.

THE MAIL BAG

Brownell's "red plot"

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The documented confessions of witness Harvey Matusow are only a new edition of Grimm's Fairy Tales, according to the Attorney General who now complains that the self-exposure of his paid witnesses is a "Red plot."

There was never a plot that involved so many. In it are the millions down the ages who despise a lying informer since Judas. And presumably the editors and column writers of the largest newspapers were also helping to "stem the campaign against subversion" when they denounced paid stoolpigeons and demanded that the Justice Dept. use of them be investigated.

Jeff Patrick

Braden's "sedition"

CUMBERLAND, WIS.

Reading about Carl Braden being falsely accused of "sedition," reminds me of the same false accusation against the Apostle Paul: "We have found this [Paul] to be a pestilent man, and raising seditions among all the Jews throughout the world, and author of the seditious sect of the Nazarenes."—Acts 24:5, Catholic Bible.

Charles Beaulieu

Squirts at the Waldorf

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Did you know that when the Senior members of the Investment Bankers of America hold a shindig over at the Waldorf, they like to express their boyish high spirits by throwing rolls about? They also toss an occasional spoon, squirt seltzer and act, in general, in a way repulsive to the Juniors. I know, because I had a Junior in my cab recently and he was fed up to the gills. He was also just "high" enough to talk freely.

"What burns me up," he confessed, "is I couldn't get to hear all that Dillon was telling us."

"Dillion who?" I inquired naively.

"Dillon of Dillon-Read, of course. Our Ambassador to France."

"So what did he reveal?" I asked.

"He gave us a wonderful analysis of the situation. Told us that everyone over there is agreed on one thing: the Germans must be rearmed. And if anyone can be said to know, really know the French people, it is Mr. Dillon. He even speaks the language!"

I commented: "So I guess we'll be reading all about it in tomorrow's Times, huh?"

"Not at all," corrected Junior. "This was an off-the-record talk for Members only. Mr. Dillon is one of our Members, you know."

Anybody but a dope like me would guess that, I figure. Just one thing bothered me, however. Those rolls the Seniors trun around. Were they hard or soft? Atom or hydrogen? Local — or global?

But as I dumped him off at Grand Central and collected my usual Thin Dime (standard for Parkavenueites) tip, it completely escaped my mind to ask him. Maybe by the time they hold their next shindig . . . if we live that long.

Joe Bronx

Opportunists' refuge

NEW YORK, N. Y.

"The first panacea for a mismanaged nation is inflation of the currency; the second is war. Both bring a temporary prosperity; both bring a permanent ruin. But both are the refuge of political and economic opportunists." — Ernest Hemingway, "Notes on the Next War."

Harry Fries

A place for a mule

SASKATOON, SASK.

Weary, discouraged, wrinkled and gray, an old man sat down beside the way. He had hunted for work till his feet were sore, he had read the number o'er many a door. His food was scarce and his house was cold; but each one answered, "You are too old." "Just give me a chance," the old man said. "I'll show I am able to earn my bread." "Get out," they said, "don't bother us—we have the pick of the younger class."

Along the street a farmer came, leading a mule that was old and lame. "Too old to work," the master said, as he gently rubbed the old mule's head; "old friend, I'll turn you out to graze in a peaceful spot for the rest of your days." The old mule then began to bray, as the old man turned and walked away. Muttering low to himself, said he: "A place for a mule but none for me."

C. Klein

A little enlightenment

CHICAGO, ILL.

Thank you for the article on women a few weeks back. I disagree strongly with the gentleman who thought that since the woman's lot was so horrible in the business world, she ought to be glad to stay at home. He doesn't seem to be aware that most adults in a family must work to make ends meet.

Phyllis Heifford

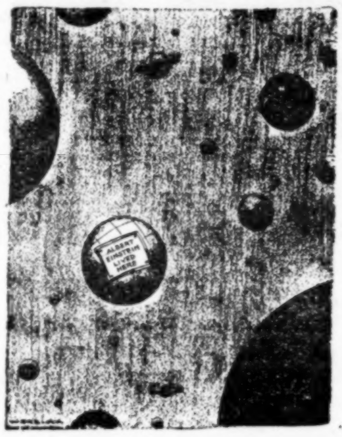
Petitions for pensions

KALISPELL, MONT.

I know I am not much help to you people directly, but I never burn a GUARDIAN. I am trying to get the people interested in a pension for themselves by using petitions. We have a good start here and we want to make it national. Lower the age limit to 55, women five years less, and an outright pension of $175 per month minimum.

Automation is the blood sucker and the people have got to awake or there will be no jobs for anyone past 50. I think the next 12 months will be historical months—so let's have the GUARDIAN, the only square deal left.

R. A. Mather



Herblock in Washington Post

Brass tack mail

CANTON, O.

One of the best sections in GUARDIAN is the Mail Bag. As much good reading appears there as elsewhere in the paper. It's a satisfaction in particular to read the "brass tack" mail. Your subscribers go right to the roots of matters rather than beat the bush, as most other letter depts. in such places as Time, Newsweek, Sat. Eve. Post, Colliers or the rest of the runamine press.

Elmer Fish

A hopeful 80

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

Looks like the big hoax is beginning to wear thin. More people are seeing through the Big Lie every day. Possibly some of us 80-year-olds will live long enough to see the monster's back broken.

We sure have plenty of places to put the balance of our modest income these days. I am hoping the progressives can keep the fires burning till we get a break.

Val S. Ware

John wasn't there

CHICAGO, ILL.

Recently a Poor Soul went to the gates of Heaven, but when he handed his card to St. Peter, the Saint told the Poor Soul that he could not enter and would have to go below. The Poor Soul replied that he would probably feel more at home there because he had spent many years in Washington as a member of Congress. "But," said he, "I would like to ask one question before I go."

"You may proceed," said Peter.

"I would like to ask if by any chance John Foster Dulles is in Heaven."

"No," said St. Peter, "of course not. Mr. Dulles is not dead yet."

"Well," said the Poor Soul, "just before I departed my earthly existence, Mr. Dulles started on one of his many trips, and I thought perhaps he may have come up to visit God."

"No," said the Saint, "there is no need for a defense perimeter up here. Perhaps he may be visiting the one below. With his NATO and SEATO, he could easily get Satan to sign up for a HEATO, and nothing would be more appropriate."

"Hot stuff," said the Poor Soul as he made his exit.

E. C. H.

Dulles and the 5th

PAHOKEE, FLA.

The President says he takes his religion seriously. All right! But what about Dulles? Has he ever taken the Fifth—that is, Commandment—seriously? Dulles is using all his energy to get a war started—somewhere: Korea, Indo-China, Guatemala and now China itself, just so he gets one started.

R. E. Boe

Regina Heller

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I am deeply grateful for the many expressions of sympathy on the death of my beloved wife Regina Heller. May her memory remain fresh and her selfless devotion and concern for her fellow men serve as an inspiration to all in the continuing struggle for peace.

Abe Heller

The "New Birth"

ROMOLAND, CALIF.

I do believe that the GUARDIAN is chasing a phantom. That future and saner generations will never come. Yes, babies will continue to be born, but they will not become saner than their parents. The reverse is the general, universal rule; with merely enough exceptions to "prove the rule." Increasing technical knowledge, yes. The ability to use that knowledge wisely NO. Wisdom is the ability to use knowledge wisely. Mankind is getting increasing knowledge, but not growing wiser.

Neither capitalism nor communism, nor any gradation between the two, has either the cause or the cure for human ills. Neither creates nor cures the defects of human nature. Capitalism, socialism, communism, technology—one and all are delusions. Only the genuine "New Birth" can change human nature. And today, I doubt if one preacher or priest out of a hundred is offering the real article. Yet a "remnant" are doing so, and the call is to "Whosoeverr Will." That WILL is important.

Elmer W. Pratt

How crazy can you get dept.

Criminal Court Judge Saul I. Rabb rejected a request that jurors in a robbery case be examined by a psychiatrist. He said there were a number of grounds on which jurors could be barred, but there was no law requiring that they be sane.

—Associated Press dispatch from Indianapolis, April 5.

One-year free sub to sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: Elmer Fish, Canton, O.

EINSTEIN

The falconer is gone to his great sleep.
Those eyes—those mighty huntsmen of the air—
shall quarry no more birds. He'll crown the steep
mountains of night no more with his bright hair.

The furrower is gone. I do not weep
because of harvests he shall never share:
much did those eyes, those mighty farmers, reap.
They furnished grain for many a village fair.

It is for my own sake, not his, I mourn;
my own sake, and the sake of all mankind.
While those eyes led the hunt, I was not blind;
while those eyes ploughed, I had my wheat, my corn.
Shut are the nests, the silos of his mind;
the field laments, the falcon wheels forlorn.

—Aaron Kramer

Write for Big 4 talks

Growing recognition of the need for high-level talks was evidenced by Sen. George when he supported a Four-Power Conference and focused attention on danger of H-war and mutual destruction.

Ratification of the London-Paris agreements makes it imperative that such talks be held BEFORE agreements are implemented to rearm Germany. The talks are also necessary in light of the critical situation in Formosa.

Popular support in letters to the President, Secy. Dulles and Sen. George would help persuade our government of the necessity of these talks and of entering them with the conciliatory attitude necessary for reaching agreements.

—Women's Intl. League for Peace & Freedom "immediate action postcard."

WILL THE "QUEEN" BE DETHRONED?

Ex-Treasury aid demands chance to confront Bentley

IN NOVEMBER, 1953, FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover told a Congressional committee of one of his most-prized informers:

> "All information furnished by Miss [Elizabeth] Bentley, which was susceptible to check, has proven to be correct. She has been subjected to the most searching of cross-examinations. Her testimony has been evaluated by juries and reviewed by the courts and found to be accurate."

Last week a 107-page brief checked the Bentley information susceptible to check and found it far less than accurate. Of the FBI itself the brief suggested that there may be "an incredible degree of laxity and negligence or ineptitude on the part of federal law enforcement officers."

8 YEARS OF SILENCE: The brief was filed by former Rep. Byron Scott (D-Calif.) in behalf of William Henry Taylor, who has been named by Bentley as a member of a war-time "spy ring" in the Treasury Dept. Taylor is now an official of the Int'l. Monetary Fund and for eight years has suffered under "suspicion, unfavorable publicity and harassment" because of the Bentley charges. He says:

> "Not once have I been confronted with an accuser or informer; not once have I been allowed to cross-examine. The charges against me have always been somewhat elusive in that they lack precision as to date, manner, form and content. Furthermore, these charges have taken on different meanings as prosecutor has followed prosecutor. I have consistently maintained that I have never been a member of the Communist Party . . . I have suffered in silence, never involving the power of the press, in the hope this evil image would of itself dissipate and die away . . . Only an abiding belief in the good sense and good judgment of the American people has sustained me through these years of mental anguish and bodily exile—for it is exile when your friends and associates drop away one by one as the theory of 'guilt by association' becomes less of a theory and more of a fact in our land."

A "MONSTROUS" THING: In the last eight years Taylor has been questioned in secret before various groups a total of 19 times, always denying under oath all of the charges against him. In his brief he now demands a full public hearing with the right to confront Bentley and cross-examine her. In addition, the brief asks that Hoover and Atty. Gen. Brownell be called to explain "demonstrable falsehoods" in the Bentley testimony. On April 19 columnist Stewart Alsop wrote:

> "It is monstrous and intolerable that, in this free country, a man branded as Taylor has been branded should be denied a chance to clear his name."

ELIZABETH BENTLEY

WILLIAM H. TAYLOR

"It is monstrous and intolerable . . . that a man be denied a chance."

The brief cites a total of 37 "discrepancies" in Bentley's writings and testimony and says:

> "We have made no private investigation of Miss Bentley. We have only studied her writings and the public record. All of her statements that are susceptible to check have been checked against the known facts and we have found her statements could not have been correct. We are challenging the inconsistencies, the inaccuracies, and the impossibilities of her story."

A VERY LONG LIST: Among the inconsistencies:

- A conflict between her testimony and Hoover's as to when she was first in contact with the FBI.
- Her testimony about a non-existent photograph of a "chief espionage agent" she swore appeared in the N.Y. **Times.**
- Conflict between her testimony and Brownell's as to when she quit supplying information to the Russians.
- Her "impossible" story about how she prevailed upon the Treasury Dept. in 1944 to give the Russians plates of European invasion currency; the brief reviews her recital and says: "It just could not have happened that way."
- Conflict between her testimony that Taylor once went on a government mission to Portugal and the fact that he has never been there.
- Conflict between her sworn testimony that Taylor gave her government documents and other sworn testimony that she had never met him; the brief says she "has neither explained nor been asked how she could have received documents from a man whom she had never seen or met."
- Her testimony that she supplied to the Russians badly-wanted information about an explosive known as RDX and the known fact that RDX was discovered in 1899, has never been a secret and was widely used by all major participants in World War II.
- Her testimony that she learned far in advance the date of D-Day and the known fact that not only did Gen. Eisenhower himself not know it more than 24 hours in advance, but the Russians were officially advised of the date; says the brief:

> "Why should the Russians set up a vast network of espionage to steal secrets that were not secret and in which they were joint planners?"

As of last week neither Bentley nor the FBI nor the Justice Dept. nor Congressional committee chairmen had any comment on the charges contained in the Taylor brief.

Freuchen will speak in Washington May 3

PETER FREUCHEN, noted Arctic explorer and UN correspondent **for Politiken,** Copenhagen, will speak in Washington, D.C. on the 12th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. His topic will be "German Rearmament." Rabbi Abraham Bick will speak on "The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and Its Significance for Jews Today." The place: Pierce Hall, 12th and Harvard St. NW. The time: Tuesday May 3, 8 p.m.

THE JURY WAS OUT 90 MINUTES

Junius Scales gets 6 yrs. in N. Carolina, toughest sentence in a Smith Act case

ON APRIL 21 Junius Scales, member of a prominent North Carolina family, became the second person to be convicted under the untested membership clause of the Smith Act. Next day he was sentenced to six years in prison, longest term yet given to any Smith Act victim, and his bail of $35,000 was revoked pending his appeal. A jury of three women and nine men reached the guilty verdict in less than an hour and a half after a nine-day trial.

The clause used against Scales and earlier this year against Claude Lightfoot in Chicago makes membership in the Communist Party a crime on the ground that the party advocates forceful overthrow of the government. Scales, who admitted CP membership for many years, denied the charge and said that force and violence is "foreign to my upbringing and all I believe."

"RAGS AND TATTERS": In a statement he read to the court after his conviction he said:

> "My beliefs cannot be tried in court. This jury had small opportunity to make such a study with the rags and tatters of unfamiliar books, distorted by government witnesses . . . My party has never advocated force and violence. The current activities of my party are devoted especially toward avoiding force and violence involved in an atomic war on Formosa. . . ."

Government witnesses were John Lautner, former Communist who testified he is now on the government payroll at $6,500 and expenses a year and has an office in the Justice Dept. in Washington, and two local FBI undercover agents.

"AN ATROCITY": Defense witnesses included Dr. Robert S. Cohen, Prof. of Physics and Philosophy at Wesleyan University, who as a non-Communist expert on Marxist literature and philosophy testified that force and violence is foreign and hostile to Marxism.

Defense attorney David Rein of Washington, D. C., announced he will appeal the conviction. In New York, William L. Patterson, exec. secy. of the Civil Rights Congress, called the conviction an "atrocity against justice" and said the "rush trial . . . demonstrates the attempt of the Justice Dept. to speed up its destruction of constitutional liberties." He urged letters and wires to Atty. Gen. Herbert Brownell and asked that funds be sent to CRC (6 E. 17th St., N. Y. C.) to help pay the cost of appeal.

JUNIUS SCALES
"My beliefs cannot be tried . . . "

New trial for 2

(Continued from Page 1)

imony furnished internal evidence of perjury and my belief that Matusow had no scruples against it compel me to find that all of his testimony which attributed to the Communist Party or to any other defendants an intent that the government be overthrown by force and violence was false."

But the judge exonerated government prosecutors in the case of charges by Matusow that they had coached and aided him in fabricating his false testimony:

> "I find that all of Matusow's fabrications were his own suggestions. By hindsight we can see that the government attorneys were credulous but they did not have the benefit of the knowledge of Matusow's character that the developments of the years have brought."

"WHICH WAS THE LIE?" If a charge that the prosecution knowingly offered false evidence had been sustained, a new trial for all the defendants would have been automatic.

Dimock ruled that, against the 11 other defendants in the case, there was sufficient evidence apart from Matusow's to sustain the guilty verdict. His decision to grant a new trial for the two is binding on both sides and cannot be appealed, but the government may drop the charges it it chooses.

In his opinion, the judge asked: "Which was the lie, the original story or the retraction? Government counsel say that the retraction was the lie." But he pointed out that Matusow had begun recanting before the defense attempted to get in touch with him, and went on:

> "Matusow's admission that he had been lying came first. . . . The internal evidence all points to the original story as the lie."

NEW YORK vs. TEXAS: In El Paso, Tex., another Federal judge has ruled that Matusow is lying now and sentenced him to three years in prison for criminal contempt. On this point Dimock wrote:

> "There has become available since the trial, not only the certainty in the alternative that Matusow lied either when he testified or else when he recanted, but also the absolute certainty that he lied in making statements in support of the recantation. The demonstrated falsity of these statements adversely affects the credibility not only of the recantation, but also of the original testimony."

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Rights Fund aids Ullmann's appeal

WILLIAM LUDWIG ULLMANN, now appealing a six-month sentence for contempt of court in the first test of the new "immunity" law, has received a grant of $1,000 from the Bill of Rights Fund to help his fight. Ullmann is one of the victims of government informer Elizabeth Bentley, who named him a member of a Washington wartime "spy ring." Said Fund chairman Corliss Lamont:

> "[This] Act is one of the worst anti-freedom measures recently enacted by Congress and goes far in canceling out the Fifth Amendment guarantee that no American shall be compelled to incriminate himself. The Bill of Rights Fund is vitally interested in having Mr. Ullmann's appeal eventually go to the U. S. Supreme Court."

The Fund made 15 other grants totaling $5,500 during the first quarter of this year.

THE PEOPLE vs. MONOPOLY

Hells canyon fight reaches boiling point in Congress

By Lawrence Emery

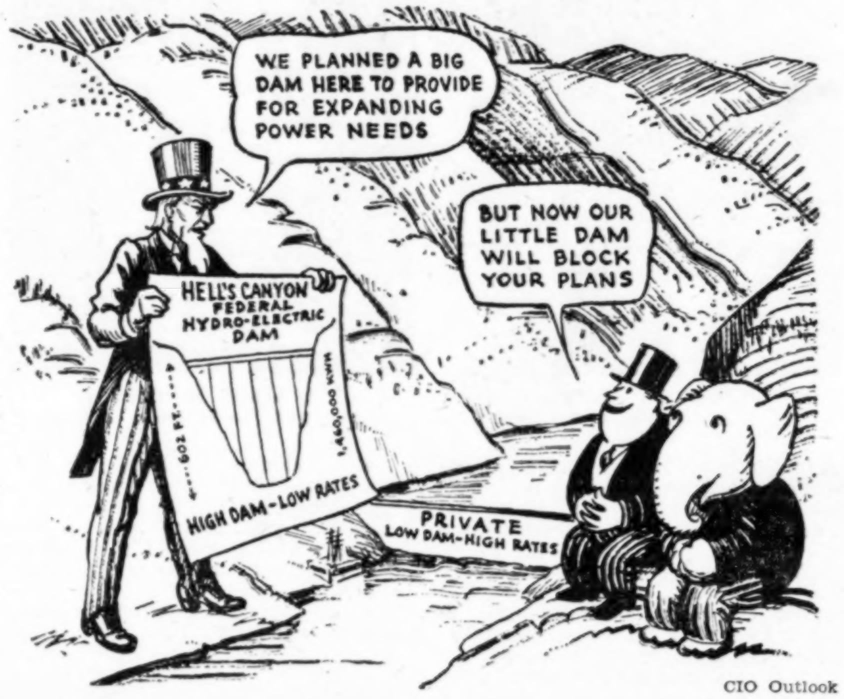
IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST today an old battle-cry—"the people versus monopoly"—around which titanic contests have been fought for half a century is again rousing vast numbers to action. The battle, as often in the past, is with the Power Trust. But it is a tougher fight than ever this year because the government, for the first time in decades, is going steady with the private utilities. Mr. Eisenhower wasn't in the White House a week before he began overturning 50 years of federal protection and federal development of natural resources, federal policies which, ironically, were fathered and furthered by Republicans beginning with Teddy Roosevelt.

At stake in the present fight is the economic future of 4,000,000 people inhabiting 400,000 square miles; ultimately the outcome will affect the entire nation.

THE DAM IS THE KEY: Hells Canyon on the Snake River, deepest gorge in all of North America and the greatest remaining site for a high all-purpose dam, is the object of controversy. Long ago it was agreed and decided that a high dam there was the key to the full development of all the water and power resources of the Columbia Basin (the Snake is a tributary to the Columbia River). A high dam there would produce 688,000 kilowatts of badly-needed prime power and would add another 436,000 kilowatts of prime power to other down-stream hydro-electric installations. In addition, by impounding 4,400,000 acre-feet of water, it would provide flood control, irrigation, navigation and recreation.

But the mis-named Idaho Power Co. (it is actually a Maine corporation) had another plan; it applied to the Federal Power Commission for the right to build—for private profit—three low-level dams on the Snake which would produce far less power than the high federal dam, would add little or nothing to down-stream installations, would provide none of the other advantages of the high dam. In addition, the three little dams would forever ruin the Hells Canyon site and make impossible the full development of the Columbia Basin.

HEARINGS FOR A YEAR: When Mr. Eisenhower took office the Dept. of the Interior was committed officially to opposing the Idaho Power Co.'s application. One of his first acts was to instruct his new Interior Secy. Douglas McKay to withdraw the department's opposition. Hastily the people of the Northwest banded together and formed the Natl. Hells Canyon Assn., representing eight public utility districts in Washington State and the Natl. Rural Electric Cooperative Assn. with the backing of farm, labor and civic groups. The new association sent lawyers to Washington to fight the Idaho Power Co. scheme; hearings before FPC examiner William J. Costello lasted a year.


WE PLANNED A BIG DAM HERE TO PROVIDE FOR EXPANDING POWER NEEDS
BUT NOW OUR LITTLE DAM WILL BLOCK YOUR PLANS
HELL'S CANYON FEDERAL HYDRO-ELECTRIC DAM
602 FT.
1,460,000 KWH
HIGH DAM-LOW RATES
PRIVATE LOW DAM-HIGH RATES

CIO Outlook

Last November the hearings ground to an end and both sides filed their briefs; the FPC lawyers' brief was favorable to the Idaho Power Co. Reply briefs were filed this January; Hells Canyon Assn. lawyers promptly charged that the FPC lawyer and the private company had made more than nine "major" changes in the basic proposals that had been advanced during the year-long hearing and said:

> "The three-dam scheme—its physical design, construction programming, construction costs, power operation, economic and financial feasibility—is more indefinite than ever."

SHIFT TO CONGRESS: They called the whole thing a "shell game" and asked that the company's application be dismissed. The hearing examiner's opinion is expected any day now; it will then go to the full five-member commission—packed with Eisenhower men—for a final verdict.

But meanwhile the main battle for Hells Canyon had shifted to Congress. Richard L. Neuberger (D-Ore.) won his seat in the Senate mostly on the public power issue; Rep. Gracie Pfost (D-Ida.), an ardent champion of a federal high dam at Hells Canyon, was handily re-elected. In January this year six Pacific Northwest Senators sent a letter to Eisenhower asking him to push for the federal project at Hells Canyon.

Then, on March 9, Sen. Wayne Morse (D-Ore.) introduced a bill calling for immediate federal construction of the high dam as an "indispensable multi-purpose project." Co-sponsoring the bill were 29 other Senators from 20 states. In the House similar bills were introduced by four Representatives.

CAMPAIGN ISSUE FOR '56: Sen. James Murray (D-Mont.), chairman of the Senate Interior Committee, promptly scheduled hearings on the new bill. About a month ago a subcommittee went out to the scene of battle to take public testimony; it made stops at Boise and Lewiston in Idaho; Pasco, Wash., where the Snake joins the Columbia; and Portland, Ore. Each meeting place was jammed with overflow crowds and passions were high. The governors of the three states, all Republicans, sided with Eisenhower and the Idaho Power Co. One called the high dam a "phony," another said the proposal was "tragic," the third denounced it as "illogical and unrealistic."

In Portland Morse tangled with the governors of Washington and Oregon, defended "the right of Congress to provide for the economic emancipation of the Northwest," said that the FPC is "obviously prejudiced and rigged," and told the governor of his own state, Paul Patterson, that the issue will be fought out not only on the floor of Congress but "at the crossroads of Oregon in 1956." The latter point was in reference to reports that Patterson will seek Morse's Senate seat next year.

FPC DELAY URGED: In addition to his 29 co-sponsors, Morse has powerful support for his bill. Sen. Alben Barkley (D-Ky.), whose stature amongst his colleagues is unique, has always on principle been opposed to co-sponsorship of a measure and declined to break his rule this time. But he took the floor to announce that he would vote for the Morse bill and said:

> "When it comes to the great natural resources given to the people by God Almighty, it will be a sad day in the history of this country when they are turned over exclusively to the control of any private group."

As the battle reached the boiling point, Sen. Murray called upon the 30 sponsors of the bill to demand that the FPC delay any action of its own until Congress has time to make its own decision.

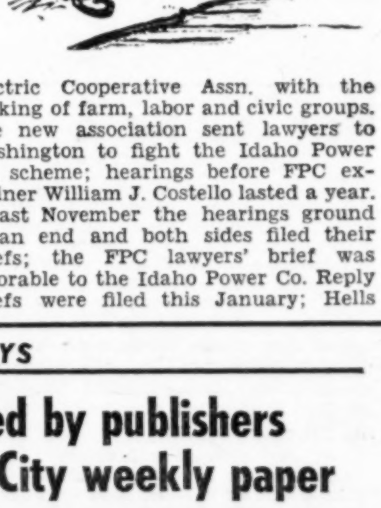
It is everybody's fight; to get in it you can write to Sen. James Murray, chmn. of the Senate Interior Committee; to Rep. Claire Engle (D-Calif.), chmn. of the House Interior Committee; and to your own Senators and Representatives.

NO SLINKING-DOWN BACK ALLEYS

Gore's main foe cuffed by publishers who took over Sauk City weekly paper

ROMAN REUTER, the "watch-fob McCarthy" of Sauk City, Wis., who wants most to be state commander of the American Legion, thought he had it made when he helped to put Leroy Gore out of business. Gore, who founded and led the Joe Must Go movement, was forced recently to sell his weekly paper, the Sauk-Prairie **Star**. He acknowledged that Reuter was partly to blame through the activities of his Door for Gore club.

When the new owners of the **Star**, Elmer and Robert Anderson, took over, Reuter had some advice for them. They would get along fine, he said, if they "stayed out of politics and kept their noses clean." He implied that if they didn't they could be put out of business, too. In their first issue the Andersons refrained from any editorial comment. In their second they said they wouldn't "slink down the back alleys afraid to open our mouths to express our opinion on any subject that might be the least bit controversial." But many wondered if they'd leave it at that and try to co-exist with Reuter.



Interlandi in Des Moines Register

"He always greets the first flower of spring with mixed emotions. On the one hand, it represents the end of winter; on the other, it represents the time to launch military offensives."

WOULD-BE FUEHRER: Now the wonderers know. In a recent issue the Andersons took on Reuter; they catalogued his sins, belted him for his boasts and threats, tagged him a "tinhorn politician," and charged that he had threatened to oust at least one officer of the Sauk City Legion post for refusing to sign a letter lauding Reuter written by Reuter himself. The editorial added:

> "We have had reports, also, of other reprehensible tactics."

State Legionnaires were urged to "consider very carefully the actions of Roman Reuter before electing him their commander" and were warned:

> "Once he's in office, they may find that their Legion standing—good or bad—depends on whether or not they agree with Reuter and his little circle of henchmen."

It was a thorough cuffing and it dared Reuter to do his worst. Leroy Gore paid heavily for his opposition to McCarthy, but he seems to have helped break through the McCarthy fear.

ALMOST A CASUALTY: An extra fillip was added to the Gore case when the Madison **Capital Times** reported that the Lumbermens Mutual Casualty Co. of Chicago had canceled Gore's automobile insurance policy because of "adverse publicity received in connection with the Joe Must Go Club." The company said it feared such publicity "would prejudice our chances of getting a fair shake if he were to be involved in an accident."

Gore, who has driven an auto for 27 years without an accident, called the cancellation "the most fantastic thing that has happened to me" and said it made him angrier than other reprisals.

It made others angry, too. On April 20 two Democrats in the State Assembly offered a resolution calling for an investigation of the cancellation—but on the same day the company announced that it had decided not to revoke the policy. Said the **Capital Times:**

> "When they sampled the public reaction to the outrageous decision they changed their attitude. It is encouraging to note that public opinion is still a powerful force in this country."

"From one bunch of sinners to another"

LONDON

- British Methodist leader Dr. Donald Soper has called Dr. Garbett, Archbishop of York, "dead wrong and frankly non-Christian" for telling the House of Lords he regarded "possession of the H-bomb" as "the one possibility of preserving peace." Garbett's contention that "the Communist states would continue on their chosen path regardless of remonstrances and reckless of human life" was "a pathetic myth," Soper said, and "a gratuitous insult from one bunch of sinners to another. . . . His speech could have been made equally well by an agnostic." First of a procession of peers to congratulate the 80-year-old Archbishop on his speech was Viscount Templewood, 75, formerly Sir Samuel Hoare, sponsor of the Hoare-Laval Pact to give Ethiopia to Mussolini and later British Ambassador to Franco Spain.
- Mrs. Shinobu Hizume, whose two daughters died from radiation disease after her husband and eldest son were killed by the Hiroshima A-bomb, was permitted to enter Britain March 13 as a guest of the Socialist Medical Assn., when she "satisfied officials she was not going to give talks to 'peace' movement bodies" (Daily Telegraph, 3/14).

WASHINGTON'S LAST RESORT: "HUMANE" ATOMIC WAR

Why disarmament talks are stalled

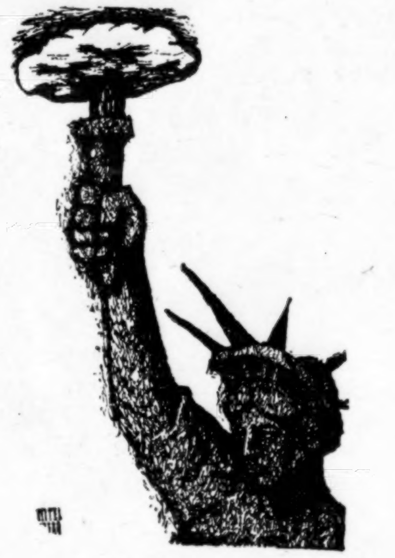
By Tabitha Petran

THE self-defeating nature of Washington's "policy of strength" becomes plainer each day. It is written in the shambles of the "free world bastion," S. Vietnam; in the sharpening crises in Formosa Strait, reflecting the final bankruptcy of Washington's China policy; in the challenge of the Soviet-Austria agreement to the entire structure of Washington's strategy in W. Europe.

As its failures pile up, it relies increasingly on thermonuclear diplomacy, the threat of H-bomb war. Early last fall Washington appeared to acknowledge an "atomic stalemate." The President was pictured as therefore determined to avoid military solutions and seek some form of co-existence. **Business Week** (11/20) attributed this new approach to recognition of the revolutionary change in world power-balance resulting from the Soviet H-bomb and China's unification. On Nov. 15 Sen. Knowland challenged the existence of atomic stalemate, claiming decisive Western superiority in A- and H-weapons, and demanded a showdown **before** the stalemate which he placed some time between 1957 and 1960. James Reston wrote (N. Y. **Times,** 11/17): "The trend of policy here is very much against the Senator and he knows it."

A-BOMBS "LIKE BULLETS": Yet Knowland's theses on the atom quickly regained official status. By March 1, Winston Churchill was echoing his claim to a decisive atomic-hydrogen lead, again threatening the U. S. S. R. and China with A- and H-war, embracing Dulles' "massive retaliation" to enforce "peace" on Western terms. The President "confirmed" that the West has "a great lead . . . both in atomic fission and atomic fusion." Along with his Secy. of State, Anglo-U. S. military leaders and Churchill, he insisted atomic weapons would be used as a matter of course in the next war "just like bullets."

It was a climax to a campaign launched last winter, coincident with NATO's decision to gear its war machine and strategy to atomic war. That decision was taken in defiance of world-wide pressure which had forced the West's agreement, at the UN General Assembly's 9th session, to reopen talks to outlaw such weapons. In the Soviet view, it "could only be interpreted as outright preparation for an atomic war of annihilation against the peace-loving countries" (Soviet Maj. Gen. George Pokrovsky, **News,** 4/55).



Mitelberg in Humanite, Paris

THE NEW "MERCY": These "outright preparations" were continued with Britain's decision to build the H-bomb; W. Germany's steps—as its rearmament was ratified—to arm with nuclear weapons (France reversed its decision to build the H-bomb—perhaps, as Cardiff's **Western Mail** suggested, at "U. S. suggestion": the U. S. does not want a strong France); Congress' "preventive war" resolution; and new war threats from the Dulles-Carney-Radford-Knowland axis. All this was accompanied by a campaign to sell public opinion on the "humaneness" of atomic-hydrogen war, on the A-bomb as "an instrument of mercy" (Reston, **NYT,** 4/10). Hanson Baldwin, reporting that most of the Joint Chiefs "believe atomic weapons must be used to insure successful defense" of Quemoy and Matsu, added **(NYT,** 4/21):

> "Many Air Force officers and many naval fliers advocate the use of the tactical atomic weapon as a 'humane' weapon, a 'rapier-like' thrust."

Hence all the talk about "tactical" A-bombs used as "weapons of precision," "like bullets" against "strictly military targets." **U. S. News** suggested just what this meant when it reported (2/25) that such "tactical" weapons "could do more damage in a few days than all the shells and all the bombs exploded by both sides in World War II." One such "small precision atomic weapon," said the N.Y. **News** (4/8),

> ". . . can effect the same destruction on an enemy air base that would have required as many as 1,200 aircraft in a mass bombing raid World War II style. . . . Practically the entire U. S. defense concept is built around the common every day use of the most explosive force the world has known."

DISARMING IS SPINACH: Committed to such a program, the West must perforce stall the London disarmament talks, cloak them in secrecy, while doing everything possible to discredit them. If the West had had its way, the world would not even have been aware of the new Soviet proposals to end the arms race: destruction of all A- and H-weapons, agreement not to increase armed forces, armaments, military budgets above the Jan. 7, 1955, level, a permanent international control organ to inspect and supervise disarmament, and a world disarmament conference this year.

According to **Le Monde,** the West's representatives refused either to discuss these or to present counter-proposals. Western governments realize, even if the public does not, that "'no decision' on the matter [of outlawing atomic weapons] is a decision in itself" **(Christian Science Monitor,** 2/25)—permitting the U. S. and NATO so to commit themselves to their use that outlawing them may become impossible.

DEEPER INTO BANKRUPTCY: But as the West accelerates atomic war preparations, European public reaction threatens ultimately to undermine its strategy. The storm of protest following the NATO decision has grown into

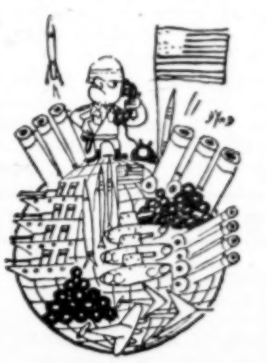
> ". . . an atomic revolution . . . raging in Europe . . . like nothing since the anti-clerical revolt of the Reformation . . . a new and sudden development with the H-bomb acting as catalytic agent for all the old and hitherto diversified discontents (N. Y. **Post,** 4/12).

This reaction to the new brandishing of the H-bomb—showing how self-defeating Western policy is—has become "the over-riding political fact in the western alliance today" **(Post).** It lies behind the British Labour Party crisis and the upsurge of neutralism throughout W. Europe.

Yet Washington's only answer to its policies' failure is to commit itself the more deeply to the same bankruptcies—and so put itself in ever worse predicaments. Wars, as Max Lerner pointed out (N. Y. **Post,** 2/28), "are started by statesmen who find themselves in positions from which they don't know how to extricate themselves and their peoples." Growing bankruptcy and growing war danger go hand in hand—with the most irresponsible elements inevitably coming to the fore—so long as peaceful co-existence "as a policy remains to be created" (Doris Fleeson, **Post,** 11/29).

TO LIVE OR DIE? Any live-and-let-live policy requires a basic re-examination of the premises of the cold war. Since within those premises the West is losing—as Knowland warned—Washington's acknowledgement of atomic stalemate last fall was almost inevitably brief. The status quo cannot be frozen, and efforts to impose counter-revolution around the world cannot succeed. In this situation, the need for a live-and-let-live policy is ever more urgent.

Despite defeats and setbacks unparalleled for any country in peacetime, there has been no demand for a re-examination of cold-war premises from Democrats or Republicans, the former being as committed as the latter to the cold war, to preparing atomic war. As a policy, peaceful co-existence, live-and-let-live, can only be created by the people. They will do this the more quickly and effectively the less they are deluded by the demagogy of cold-war politicians; the more they build, and rely upon, their own strength and organization in forcing an end to atomic-war preparations and the cold war.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Listen, son—got any storage space up on Mars?"

Colonel X: The Soviets have never bombed a civilian population

By "Colonel X"

Military analyst, Tribune des Nations, Paris

THE official strategists of the U. S. divide atomic weapons into two categories: tactical and strategic. The first are those whose destructive effects are voluntarily limited, which would preferably be used on the battle-field or against installations of a military character. The second are those with a maximum destructive effect; they would be used preferably against global objectives—a city, a port, an industrial center, and to destroy on a massive scale the enemy's human potential, civilians and military indiscriminately. . . .

In World War II the Anglo-Saxons and the Germans gave much importance to "strategic" aviation whose mission was to destroy the civilian population by thousands or tens of thousands. After the war, those who set up the first balance-sheets of the operations stated two things: that the Russians had not used "strategic" weapons, and that the Germans' and Anglo-Americans' "strategic" operations had had practically no influence on the course of the war. . . . There is no example of a bombing of civilian populations by the Soviet air force. . . .

NOW IT'S "TACTICAL": It is obviously good psychological warfare today for Washington to insist that the A-bomb was decisive in bringing about Japan's capitulation. But nothing is less certain. In any case, the example of Hiroshima cannot be used to justify the new theses of the U. S. general staff. The latter now considers as a "tactical" weapon a bomb whose power is equal to that of Hiroshima. What was "strategic" in 1945 has become "tactical" today. To what do we owe this revolution? Simply to the fact that, since 1945, the U. S. arsenals have been enriched by the H-bomb.

According to the atomic experts, the thermonuclear bombs now produced are at least 1,000 times more powerful than the first A-bomb of the Hiroshima type. The U. S. would like to take advantage of this terrifying progress to give public opinion the idea that the first A-bombs remain "in the humane category." . . . Their use may therefore be envisaged—under the heading of "tactical" weapons—under "all circumstances": that is, not only to counter a general Soviet aggression (an eventuality for which the use of H-bombs is especially foreseen) but in any kind of regional operation of Korea or Indo-China type.

THE ILLUSORY "EQUILIBRIUM": But let us remember that in the course of the Korean War the tonnage of conventional explosives used by the Americans corresponded, from the standpoint of its effects, to several dozen A-bombs. The Americans claimed that they could, by massive bombardments, obtain **strategic** results. They failed. One could conclude that the method of mass destruction . . . once again showed itself ineffectual. . . .

The arrival of the H-bomb completely modified this situation. Now they really had a weapon of a new character, bringing about a qualitative change . . . While the A-bomb has no more chance than conventional weapons of destroying the mass Communist armies, the H-bomb, with unlimited possibilities, "equilibrates" as great a number of combatants as one can imagine.

The U. S. general staff, then, would have reason to base its strategic plans on thermonuclear weapons—if they remained its monopoly. But since both camps have these weapons, the "equilibrium" is an illusion: the Communists retain the advantage due to their superiority in combat troops.

A GAME TWO WON'T PLAY: Thus the possible development of a world war reduces itself to these alternatives: either atomic weapons are used without restriction and both antagonists (not to mention those on the fringes) are destroyed, or else atomic weapons are not used and the defeat of the American camp is inevitable.

To revive a little hope, the Pentagon imagines a third hypothesis: a conflict in the course of which certain types of atomic arms would be used—the types considered *a priori* as favorable to the Americans and unfavorable to the Russians. . . .

For this to be reasonable, the Soviet general staff would have to agree to act according to the plans and with the means proposed to them by the American general staff! But it is impossible that the U. S. S. R. would ever accept a limited ban on atomic weapons under which certain types of atomic weapons would be considered legitimately usable.

DISARMING SANER & SIMPLER: According to the Soviet thesis, all atomic weapons are weapons of mass destruction and, as such, must be absolutely prohibited. The U. S. S. R., for whom the securing of mass support is a question of principle, does certainly refuse to contemplate the mass destruction of the Americans as it refused to participate in the mass destruction of the Germans. "Strategic" bombing remains, for the Soviet generals, as ineffectual a method of warfare in 1955 as in 1945.

This position should facilitate an agreement to disarm by showing that disarmament depends in the first instance on banning atomic weapons.

THEY DON'T WANT THE BARBED WIRE ANY MORE

Arab-Jewish Youth Festival stirs all of Israel

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian special correspondent

JAFFA, ISRAEL

ONE of the most remarkable events in the Middle East's recent troubled history took place here April 11-13. In a hall seating thousands, packed to overflowing, the first Friendship Festival of Jewish and Arab Youth opened amid extraordinary enthusiasm.

Sponsored by artists, scientists and professional people, with a presidium representative of all shades of opinion, the festival was attacked in advance as a "communist maneuver"—but even bourgeois circles had to admit its nationwide character. **Ha'aretz,** the leading daily, described "the arrival of the Arab youth groups" as nothing short of "grandiose," adding that "all through the opening ceremony tokens of friendship and affection were exchanged between young Jews and young Arabs." The Arabs, many in national dress, gave the meeting that colorful, festive air with which the Orient always seems to put the Occident to shame.

OATH OF FRIENDSHIP: Heralded by trumpets. the festival was formally opened by Nimrod Eshel, who first won his spurs in the people's fight when he led Israel's seafaring folk in the 1951 seamen's strike. Throughout the opening ceremony, the chair was taken alternately by him and by Chana Abu Chana, beloved young Arab poet whose birthplace—Nazareth—is Israel's largest all-Arab community. Said Chana:

> "In the name of the Arab youth represented here, I take this solemn oath, that I shall do all within my power to further friendship and understanding between Jewish and Arab youth."

United Nations photo

TENSION POINT: ARAB REFUGEES FROM PALESTINE
They worried the UN and the conferees at Bandoeng too

Solemn silence fell on the house, and the gay shouts of comradeship from aisle to aisle came to a halt, when young torch-bearers arrived carrying the sacred fire of greeting from every border—from Syria and Lebanon, from Jordan and Egypt. But solemnity soon gave way to music and dancing. A group of Arab male dancers, followed by a Jewish Yemenite ballet, were received with tremendous enthusiasm; then Arab orchestras from Nazareth and Kfar Yassif in the far north, and Arab and Jewish choirs singing in turn their ancient and modern folk tunes. Soon the audience became part of the stage; and long after the meeting formally closed, deep into the night, there were dancing and singing in the streets.

DREAM COMING TRUE: The festival continued with sport competitions in Jaffa stadium, torchlight parades on the Yarkon river, bonfire dancing, symposia on closer economic and cultural relations. In the fine exhibit of painting and arts and crafts, most of the painters who exhibited were young Jews; the fine metal-work, mosaics and ceramics were largely Arabs' work.

A might demonstration of solidarity from Jaffa's center through Tel Aviv, down Allenby Road to Mograbi, the city's main square, ended the festival. Jewish and Arab boys and girls marched arm in arm in a singing, dancing procession in brilliant sunshine and in a sunny mood. Trumpets and drums accompanied them as they carried their flags and posters asking for peace and friendship between Jews and Arabs in Israel and the entire Middle East.

THE BRIDGE: Among the many greetings from all corners of the world, there had been one which was tumultuously received: Egypt's democratic youth had succeeded in sending their message of friendship, so that the slogan the girls carried down Allenby Road—"Israel's Arabs—the Bridge of Peace"—took on added significance.

"We would rather play basketball together than fight each other with sten guns and hand grenades," they shouted. Nobody watching them could imagine that these happy boys and girls would ever again wish to face each other across barbed wire.

Two days after the festival, word came from India that Nehru might be persuaded to act as mediator in the long-festering conflict between Israel and the Arab states. For many in the Middle East, this was the first ray of hope seen in years. For, in the words of the Arab-Jewish Youth Festival, only in "peace is our future."

THE CHALLENGE TO THE LOYALTY RACKET

The case of Dr. John Punnett Peters

THE case of Dr. John Punnett Peters, senior prof. of medicine at Yale University, has become the hottest "loyalty" dismissal issue in the U. S. Peters had a part-time job, unrelated in any way to "sensitive" matters, as special consultant to the U. S. Surgeon General on FSA public health service; in 1951 he was fired because of "reasonable doubts" of his loyalty.

He insists his constitutional rights have been infringed because the procedures neither disclose the accusers' identity nor permit the accused to confront them, and because they deprive him of "life, liberty or property" without due process in violation of the Fifth Amendment. This is a challenge to the heart of the "loyalty" program established in Truman and Eisenhower executive orders, under which any government employe can be arbitrarily fired. The government's position is expressed in a Justice Dept. brief filed in the Peters case:

> "Never in our history has it been thought that a government employe could not be dismissed without a hearing that meets the procedural requirements of the Fifth Amendment."

"THE TIME IS OVERDUE": The Justice Dept. itself is split on whether this position will stand up. Normally such briefs are signed by the Solicitor General; in the Peters case, Solicitor General Simon E. Sobeloff disagreed with Atty. Gen. Brownell, and "withdrew."

Last December the Engineers & Scientists of America, a federation of 13 labor unions covering thousands of defense workers, filed a friend-of-the-court brief. They said:

> "Somewhere, some time, the line of due process application to the loyalty-security field must be held by the judiciary in preservation of the liberty of a free people. The time is overdue; and the appropriate occasion is here."

In another friend-of-the-court brief filed in January, the CIO and United Auto Workers said they felt themselves to be "directly concerned," and

> ". . . we believe that these government loyalty programs, relying as they do upon the statements of informers whose identity is kept secret from the accused and often from the adjudicating boards, pose a major threat to the constitutional liberties of all Americans and to the very existence of our democratic system of government."

SUPREME COURT HEARING: On April 19 the Supreme Court heard argument on the case. Dr. Peters' attorneys, Thurman Arnold and Paul Porter, argued that in government loyalty procedures secret information cannot be used "to pin the badge of infamy on an American citizen." They said the sole issue in the case is the right of confrontation and asked the court to decide the matter on this constitutional issue of the right of protection against "faceless informers."

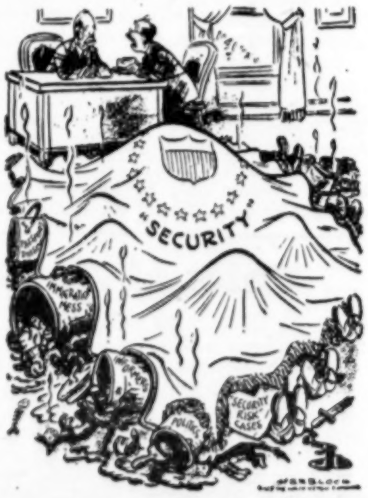
The government's attorney held that the executive branch has the right to dismiss for any reason as a managerial function. But Justices of the court fired so many questions at him that he was unable to present orally many of the points covered in his brief. They seemed particularly interested in the secrecy of accusations in loyalty cases. At one point Justice Felix Frankfurter said:

> "It is very difficult for me to understand why the Cabinet cannot be trusted with information that is given to the FBI."

MD's ECHO IKE: By last month the Peters case had inspired a petition to Eisenhower initiated by the cream of the medical profession, and circulated with an urgent plea to sign it to thousands of physicians throughout the land. The petition asks Eisenhower "to consider the necessity of making certain basic changes" in the government security program, and says:

> ". . . We are all the more concerned because we realize that the case of Dr. Peters is not an exception; it merely exemplifies the injustices inherent in a procedure applied to thousands of physicians. . . . Even the members of the Loyalty Review Board were permitted to know the identity of only one of the informants against Dr. Peters. . . . We should like to draw your attention to the words so pointedly spoken by you in Washington on Nov. 23, 1953:
>
> "'In this country, if someone dislikes you or accuses you, he must come up in front. . . . He cannot assassinate you or your character from behind without suffering the penalties an outraged citizenry will inflict. . . .'
>
> "Since a large part of all the money available today for medical research stems from governmental sources, the institutions responsible . . . are no longer free to choose their research personnel solely on the basis of the applicant's competence. . . . The operation of the present security program impairs our national security. . . . It is clearly consistent with the interests of national security that the irreplaceable services of men like Dr. Peters should continue to be devoted to solving our country's health programs."

The MD's initiating the petition included:



Herblock in Washington Post
"Really, don't you notice anything?"

Medical School professors: Harvard's Stanley Cobb, James L. Gamble, Allan M. Butler, Benjamin Castleman, William B. Castle; Yale's Harry Greene and John F. Fulton; Johns Hopkins' Edwards A. Park; Arkansas U.'s Katherine Dodd; Pennsylvania U.'s J. Russell Elkinton, Joseph Stokes Jr. and Wm. C. Stadie; Stanford U.'s Emile Holman; Washington U.'s (St. Louis) Carl V. Moore and W. Barry Wood Jr.; Vanderbilt U.'s Hugh Morgan; Columbia U.'s Paul Klemperer; Duke U.'s Eugene A. Stead Jr.; State Univ. of N. Y.'s Max Michael Jr.

Others: Alfred Gellhorn, Murray H. Bass, Louis Leiter, Leo Mayer, Lawrence J. Roose, Ephraim Shorr, I. Ogden Woodruff, S. Bernard Wortis (N. Y.); Charles M. Grossman (Portland, Ore.); Somers H. Sturgis, Chas. A. Janeway, Paul D. White, J. Howard Means, Edward Young (Boston); Alfred H. Washburn, Child Research Council director, U. of Colorado.

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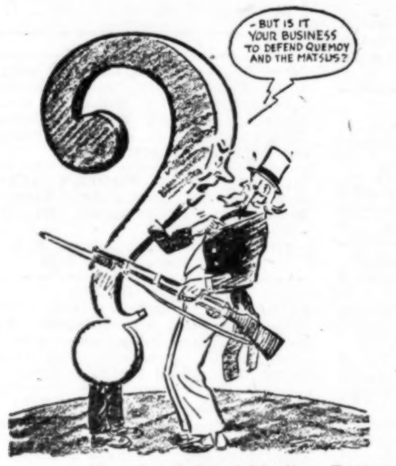
Afro-Asian parley

(Continued from Page 1)

Chou offered to negotiate with the U.S. "to relax tension in the Taiwan (Formosa) area," without relinquishing China's claim to the island. Washington responded by demanding first a cease-fire, release of U.S. airmen jailed as spies, and China's acceptance of UN discussion of Formosa with equal participation by Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalists (who promptly declined "ever to sit at the same table" with Peking). CBS's Bob Trout (4/24) reported that most delegates were impressed by Chou's offer and "did not like the State Dept.'s reply." The latter "disappointed" U Nu; Ceylon's Kotelawala felt it was "too hasty" and


- BUT IS IT YOUR BUSINESS TO DEFEND QUEMOY AND THE MATSUS?

Christian Science Monitor, Boston

MORE AND MORE INSISTENT

"made things more difficult"; London's **Times** said:

> "Washington's brusque reply to Chou En-lai's fair-seeming offer is likely to supply just the final touch to China's brilliantly successful wooing of Asian opinion . . . "

Protests have been growing in the U.S., too, against going to war with China. Most Americans, however, have supported the U.S.'s right to "defend Formosa." An editorial in the scholarly London **Eastern World** (quoted in the Canadian **Far Eastern Newsletter,** March, 1955) has pointed out:

> "The overall bone of contention is Formosa, for if it were not, there would be no question of off-shore islands; and in the larger context little is served by discussion of whether Quemoy and the Matsus should or should not be defended by America. The fundamental issue is whether Formosa should be defended by America at all."

FORGOTTEN HISTORY: As the State Dept. admitted on Dec. 29, 1949, "Formosa, politically, geographically and strategically is part of China." President Truman said on Jan. 5, 1950: "The U.S. government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China." The same afternoon Secy. of State Acheson declared: "We are not going to use our forces in connection with the present situation in Formosa."

The Korean War is generally believed to have changed Washington's attitude: on June 27, 1950, Truman ordered the 7th Fleet "to prevent any attack on Formosa." But two weeks earlier (6/14/50) the N.Y. **Herald Tribune's** Marguerite Higgins reported from Tokyo that Gen. MacArthur would propose a new formula for "saving Formosa" to Defense Secy. Johnson, Gen. Bradley and Dulles during their visit to Japan. And the N.Y. **Times'** Reston believed (6/28/50) that

> ". . . the whole issue of reversing U.S. policy in Formosa would have been raised . . even if the Communists had not attacked S. Korea."

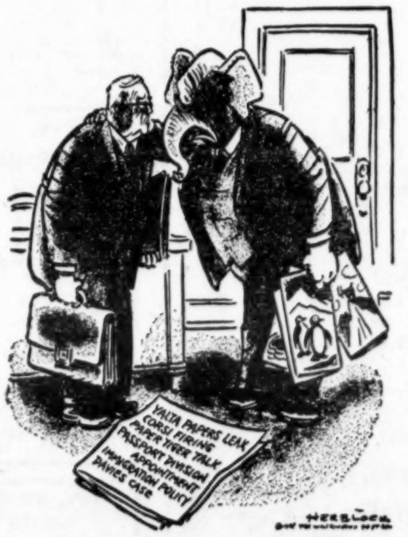
Washington's Formosa policy turned a somersault since it became clear that the successful conclusion of the Chinese revolution, and China's planned approach to rapid economic, political political and social advance, would profoundly affect not only its immediate neighbors but all colonial and semi-colonial countries. It has reached a point where a powerful group in Washington thinks

> ". . . the time to smash China is now, before its industrialization transforms it into one of the great powers and demonstrates to Asia that a colonial people can create its own capital out of its own labor and sufferings without courting the finicky, undependable and haughty foreign investor" (**I. F. Stone's Weekly,** 4/4).

"THE PUBLISHABLE FACTS": China has often charged U.S.-Chiang forces with harassing the mainland, seeking to foment trouble through spies and saboteurs. It has insisted that tension in Formosa Strait has resulted from U.S. interference in China's internal affairs. Nevertheless, China has been willing to settle the issue through peaceful negotiations.

During 1950-54, Peking reported, Chiang's U.S.-equipped and U.S.-trained and U.S-protected forces had killed or captured 1,300 Chinese fishermen; seized or sunk 470 Chinese vessels; captured and/or halted and pirated 67 foreign ships (43 were British) enroute to or from Chinese ports; made 43 raids on off-shore islands and mainland coastal areas; flown 1,427 bombing, strafing and reconnaissance sorties over the mainland. Presenting "for the first time . . . the publishable facts on American espionage in Red China," Jack Anderson wrote in **Parade** (4/3):

> "Our pipelines into China are as complex as the Pentagon's plumbing. The Army, Navy and Air Force are plugged into their own intelligence lines. These are crossed with British Intelligence in Hong Kong and Chinese Nationalist Intelligence on Formosa. Enmeshed in the whole web is the shadowy Central Intelligence Agency . . . It's the CIA that carries the burden [and] is organizing small, underground resistance groups inside Manchuria and China, furnishing them with arms, explosives for sabotage and bribery money."



Herblock in Washington Post

"Foster, you haven't been doing much traveling lately."

"LUDICROUSLY IMPERIALISTIC": Noting that the U.S. claimed Formosa for its chain of "defense bases," Chinese People's Natl. Congress member Wang Yung-sun said last month:

> "Taiwan [Formosa] and Hainan are China's two eyes which look after its territorial waters. Just as we do not seek to extend our frontiers to California in the name of 'national security', so we are determined not to allow the U.S. to rob us of the large Chinese island which faces our south-east coast . . ."

On this point the London **Eastern World** felt that the U.S. "envisaged" its claim to Formosa

> ". . . less as defense of the American West Coast than as containment by ringing China and Russia with airfields. In a world which is, of necessity, moving towards co-existence this is creating long term thorny problems rather than lessening them. . . . "

On U.S. characterization of Peking's determination to "liberate Formosa" as "aggression," the same journal said:

> "For Mr. Dulles to talk of Peking's aggressiveness in the same breath as saying that the U.S. will hold Formosa and might well defend Quemoy and the Matsus, is almost too ludicrously imperialistic to be true . . . China has for years been saying she will take Formosa . . . The delicate situation in the Strait cannot be attributed to that. Nationalist raids and gun-firing followed by American interference brought the matter to a head. In all fairness it should be recognized that the Peking Government exercised great restraint while American ships and aircraft were operating dangerously close to her territory . . ."

WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY? China has been willing to discuss the Formosa issue with a commision composed of Britain, the U.S.S.R., France, India, Burma, Indonesia, Pakistan and Ceylon. Washington, on the other hand, under pressure at home and from abroad, seems to be veering toward evacuating Quemoy and the Matsus, while maintaining the status quo in Formosa guaranteed by its allies. Yet, as the **Eastern World** noted,

> ". . . sooner or later Formosa must become part of mainland China, and the task of the nations now is to seek a way in which this can be done without bloodshed . . . It must be made clear to Washington that the main responsibility for easing tension rests with them . . . One thing is certain: it will not be the task of a future conference to decide to whom Formosa belongs, it will be to find how best the Peking Government can take it over peacefully."

• • •

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Rainbow colors in the white sun

(Eugene Gordon, GUARDIAN associate editor for civil liberties and Negro affairs, who on leave of absence has been covering the Asia-Africa conference as a free-lance correspondent, sent this message soon after his delayed arrival.)

By Eugene Gordon

BANDOENG

IT WAS ALREADY 5:30 p.m., a day late, when delegates, observers and newsmen arriving by Royal Dutch airliner disembarked at Djakarta, Indonesia's capital. Band music greeted us, with the colors of the 29 invited nations flying amid palm and banana trees. The plane to Bandoeng left at 6, but my suitcase was missing. At 6:10 a triumphant cry from airport officials announced that they had found it. I finally reached the conference city at 8 a.m. Wednesday and found a room in a hotel where Czechoslovak correspondent Katel Beba and Ralph Parker, Moscow correspondent for British and U.S. publications, were located.

Before noon I had penetrated the mass of bicycles, pedirickshaws and special delegation cars, moving slowly through the holiday crowds in holiday dress, to the conference headquarters on Djalam Street. The sponsoring nations' flags flying at the entrance were no brighter in the white-hot sunlight than the red, blue and gold in the dress of the thousands of Bandoengese standing outside on the renamed Asia-Africa Street. At the near end of the block-long, ultra-streamlined Savoy-Homan Hotel boyish-looking Indonesians in army and police uniforms barred traffic unless on official business. Loudspeakers boomed the names and countries of delegates leaving the hotel. One of the youths in the massed crowd—the children were in school—who had been studying me for half an hour explained in halting but correct English that he was waiting for celebrity autographs. He asked if I was from Ethiopia and, when I said I was from New York, said he hoped to visit it some day; he had once lived a year in New Orleans.

All Bandoeng was beribboned in the national colors of its guests. The shop windows, none needing to apologize to Madison or Fifth Avenue, bore welcome signs on huge handkerchiefs. Though the atmosphere in the shopping center at times suggested smart New York, the preponderance of black and brown faces recalled Harlem and I had the overwhelming feeling that I was among home folks understanding each other profoundly. My young friend said:

> "Tonight I will be your guide, because a million people will crowd the streets. Have you heard Indonesian music? You will hear the suling band of wind instruments—they are made of bamboo, beautiful when you get used to it."

I asked why the people of Bandoeng were so excited about the conference. "Not only Bandoeng, but all Indonesia," he said. "We hope that much good for all the people of Asia and Africa will come out of it." Then he added:

"May I please have your autograph?"

What they decided at Bandoeng

The following is a resume of the final communique of the Afro-Asian Conference (Bandoeng, April 18-23):

ECONOMIC CO-OPERATION: The conference recognized the need and the desire "for economic co-operation among the participating countries" without precluding "co-operation with countries outside the region, including investment of foreign capital"; agreed to exchange technical assistance and establish national and regional training and research institutes; recommended "early establishment of a special UN fund for economic development" and an "international finance corporation" to undertake equity investment; called for "stabilizing international prices of and demand for primary commodities through bilateral and multilateral arrangements"; stressed peaceful atomic energy development.

CULTURAL CO-OPERATION: The participants resolved "to work for closer cultural co-operation . . . in the larger context of world co-operation," and condemned "racialism as a means of cultural suppression."

HUMAN RIGHTS & SELF-DETERMINATION: The conference supported "the fundamental principles of human rights [and] the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations as set forth in the UN Charter, and took note of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as common standard of achievement [and] the UN resolutions on the right of peoples and nations to self-determination"; deplored racial segregation in Africa and other parts of the world; supported "the rights of the Arab people of Palestine [and] the peaceful settlement of the Palestine question."

DEPENDENT PEOPLES: The conference urged reopening of Indonesia-Netherlands negotiations for freedom of W. Irian (Dutch New Guinea) and freedom for N. African colonies; declared that "colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end."

WORLD PEACE & CO-OPERATION: The delegates recommended universal membership in UN; considered as imperative for peace "the prohibition of production, experimentation and use of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons of war" and urged immediate suspension of experiments with such weapons; called for freedom for all colonial peoples "with the least possible delay"; supported all nations' right "freely to choose their own political and economic systems" in conformity with the UN Charter; respected each nation's right "to defend itself singly or collectively" so long as such defense arrangements were not used "to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers"; advocated "the settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means. . . ."

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FROM France, China, Israel, the U.S., Ireland, Canada and England, a most versatile young folksinger named Ernie Lieberman has gathered songs of peace into an album called "Goodby Mr. War." Playing his own guitar and singing in a pleasant, appealing voice, Lieberman catches the feeling of wistfulness and protest of young people everywhere as they contemplate the futility of uniformed killing.

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In all, 10 songs in an attractive album, recorded with remarkable richness and clarity by Amerecord. Even if you have never heard of hi-fi, you will recognize the quality of this 33⅓ LP record. Lieberman, an old-time GUARDIAN fan for all his 25 years, says he will contribute to the paper 25% on each record purchased by a GUARDIAN reader. So when you order, say you read about it in the GUARDIAN. The address: Tiba Willner, 949 Schumacher Dr., Los Angeles 48, Calif. Price: $4.35 incl. postage.—J. A.

•

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An appeal to Jews

An appeal for peace in the spirit of Jewish religious teaching, and protest against the rearming of Hitler's generals who slaughtered 6,000,000 Jews, has been sent out by Rabbi Shliffer, president of the Jewish Religious Community of Moscow.

The American Russian Institute (90 McAllister St., San Francisco 2, Calif.) is distributing the appeal. Contributions to the ARI will be used in mailing it to U.S. synagogues, Jewish groups and leaders.

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Leslie Porteous

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Arvid Saik

Reader Saik enclosed $5.35 with his tribute to the secretary-treasurer of the Farmers' Union of the N. Y. Milk Shed, who died Feb. 27 in Florida at 76.—Ed.

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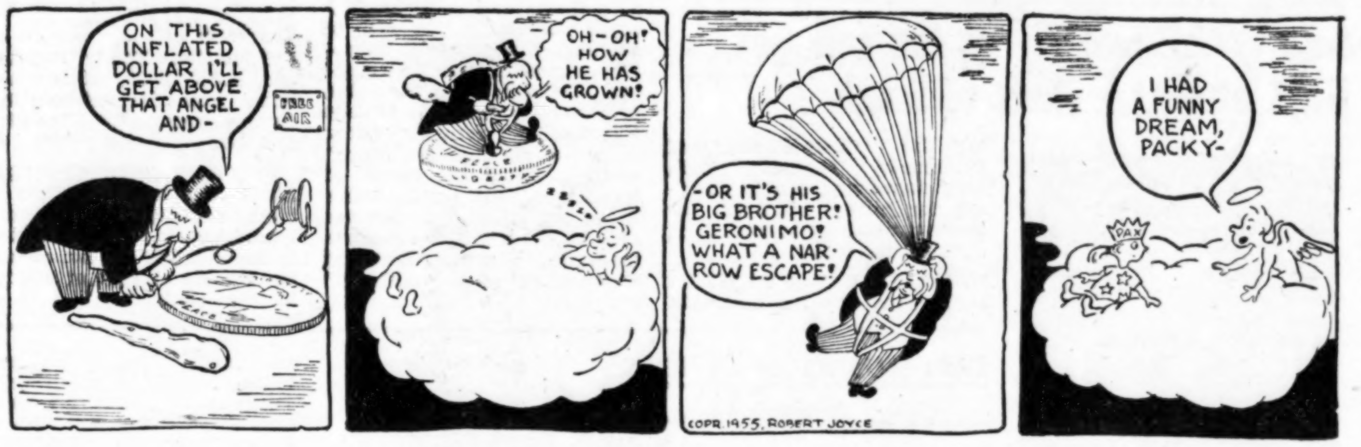
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—Ad in Los Angeles Mirror, March 11.

7 p.m.—VICTORY AT SEA—Channel 11—Prize-winning documentary deals with the "Fate of Europe." Featured are scenes from the controversial Yalta conference and collapse of the Russian war machine.

—Radio news briefs, same paper, same page, same day.

Hallinan story

(Continued from Page 1)

that the "left wing of the right wing of the left" had also taken a position. To characterize it he parodied Longfellow:

The shades of night were falling fast
As through an Alpine village passed
A youth who bore 'mid snow and ice
A banner with this strange device:
SOCIALISM

Hallinan made plain his own belief in the ultimate triumph of socialism, but asked: "Why not consult?"

[In his call, McManus asked for a "national independent political party on the ballot in the '56 Presidential election." He proposed a national meeting to plan the fight for a party which "must be prepared to understand the reality of socialism and further, not rule out its application" in confronting domestic and world problems.—Ed.]

"LIMITED OBJECTIVES": Of his own views Hallinan said he had "notions and ideas" but would not at the moment offer them; he preferred to "sit down and hear what others have to say." He gave an inkling of his thinking, however, when he said he doubted that the American people could now be roused to fight for socialism, to resist the march of empire or even to repeal the Smith Act. He favored a fight for "limited objectives . . . for those things we can win, not for illusory hopes we cannot gain." He would count it a victory if we could "determine the drift a little bit . . . start the march up another road . . . get a government in Washington that veers even slightly to the New Deal."

He asked only that we do not "wreck our forces," that if we move "circuitously through the slough of despond" we "keep always in sight the shining city at the end of the path."

Though many in the audience, favoring varying tactics, disagreed with some of Hallinan's broad and biting characterizations of their positions, they greeted the speech as perhaps the firmest step toward unity in years.

JIMCROW IN JAIL: Early in his address Hallinan spoke of his victorious fight to end jimcrow on McNeil Island. Finding that Negroes (about 25% of the prison population), Mexicans and Indians were segregated with each group at its own tables in the dining room, he sent a letter to the warden, quoting President Eisenhower's declaration that "wherever the power of the Federal government prevailed"—and Hallinan stressed that if ever there was such a place, a Federal prison was it—there would be no racial discrimination.

His letter was ignored; when he circulated petitions to end jimcrow he was called to the warden's office and told that if he persisted he would be indicted for "incitement to riot" and sent to Alcatraz.

The protest movement grew and Hallinan was elected chairman of the Inter-Relations Committee, an authorized organization of prisoners. (Hallinan commented wryly that he was more successful politically in prison than outside.)

IT TOOK ONE DAY: Three days before Hallinan's release the warden called in IRC officers, told them he had a mandate from Washington to end jimcrow. Hallinan told him: "Warden, you'll find yourself in Alcatraz," but offered to help make the desegregation work "without tumult." He won some major concessions from the warden on prisoners' welfare, presented these to the prisoners, then told them desegregation went with the concessions.

Desegregation went through in one day with no trouble. Before Hallinan left prison, he said, you'd never know there had ever been segregation on McNeil Island. He said that when he read the warnings of Dixiecrat attorneys general that "riot and bloodshed" would follow school desegregation in the South, he thought of the prison dining room and was certain that if there were "half a dozen men with authority" determined to end segregation in the South, it could be ended in two weeks.

A TEST FOR LABOR: Touching on labor, he said that the tough battle would come in the South where big business was building a low-wage stronghold. He warned that "white labor in the South is going to cut its own throat on the knife of racial bigotry." He predicted that the "overfed labor bosses of the North" would have to call back the "maligned and slandered reds" when they needed men "with courage and integrity enough to face the vigilantes of Dixie."

He said only two courses were open to America: empire (with an economy held together by "spit and chewing gum") or socialism. Our leaders, he said, having chosen the course of empire, were suffering losses but were willing to settle for small gains: "If they can't get China—they'll take Formosa." He warned that defeats made warmakers desperate and said: "They've been moving while we've been talking."

HALLINAN VISITS GUARDIAN OFFICE

L. to r.: James Aronson, Cedric Belfrage, Hallinan, John T. McManus

A NEW PAPER IS BORN

Welcome, 'The Southerner'

THE GUARDIAN is delighted to welcome with warmest good wishes a new "voice of the people." It is the monthly newspaper **The Southerner,** published in Dalton, Ga., by the Rev. Charlie Pratt, pastor of the Church of God of the Union Assembly, and Donald L. West, poet and teacher. A full-sized eight-page newspaper, it said in a front-page statement of policy in its first issue (March):

"Our job . . . will be to bring out, to push forward, that other South—the South of the progressive tradition, the South of the common people who never owned slaves in the old days or their counterparts today. . . . We have no part with, nor sympathy for, evil men who preach hatred anywhere. Our gospel is one of love and understanding. Our policy is based on and guided by love for truth and people.

"A NEW SOUTH": "We believe that a potentially powerful and potent force for saving the American ideal lies with the common poor white man of the South. With him, and this cause, we identify ourselves. With this spirit we seek to go forward toward a new South and a greater America."

The Southerner emphasized that it is "100% independent," not tied to "any political party's kite," but "just as we believe in the right of all men to their religious beliefs or affiliation we, likewise, believe in the right to political belief or opinion. . . . Force and fear have no place either in religion or politics in America."

The first issue contained articles on organizing the Southern textile workers, on the miserable plight of Indians in the South, on the Dixon-Yates deal, on informers by Aubrey Williams (a contributing editor) and a supplement on The Church of God.

A SIMPLE STYLE: The second (April) issue carried a piece by a Harlan (Ky.) widow recalling the bloody days of mine organization, an article on small farmers in Texas, a report on the CIO convention and spirited editorials on the defense of the Bill of Rights and a Big Four conference.

The response from readers of the first issue was enthusiastic. The reason seems clear: **The Southerner** is simply written, cleanly got up, never uses a big word where a small one will do, yet is never condescending. Subscription price is $2 a year. Write: **The Southerner,** Dalton, Ga. —J. A.

JOHN W. POWELL'S PAMPHLET

'Formosa: Fact & Fiction'

AS AN "open critic of U.S. policy toward China" John W. Powell, editor of the **China Weekly (Monthly) Review** for many years both in Kuomintang and People's China, has been hounded by Washington since he returned home with his family two years ago. He has had on his neck the CIA, the FBI, and the Jenner committee; his wife, grilled by the Internal Security Subcommittee's Sen. Welker, was fired as "embarrassing" to the Infantile Paralysis Foundation.

Both remain convinced that "normal, friendly relations" with China are the "only hope for peace and prosperity," and in an eloquent pamphlet* Powell answers some of the questions about the Formosa crisis on which Americans must be informed to get peace. Among other little-known information, he records that Commodore Perry recommended Formosa's occupation as a naval base back in 1854, when Formosa held a near-monopoly of natural camphor (essential for manufacturing celluloid and smokeless gunpowder); two U.S. merchants who had cornered the camphor market "did in fact raise the American flag over the harbor of Kaohsiung" and U.S. Marines landed there in 1867. —K. G.

**FORMOSA: FACT & FICTION by John W. Powell; 16 pp., 10c (less for bulk orders.) Available from the author, 1015 Carolina St., San Francisco 10, Cal.*

Kramer's oratorio in L. A. concert

THE oratorio "Denmark Vesey," a poem by Aaron Kramer set to music by Waldemar Hille, will feature the eighth anniversary concert of the Fraternal Songsters at the Embassy Auditorium, 9th and Grand Avs., Los Angeles, on May 7.

Anne Revere will be the oratorio's narrator and featured soloist is baritone Arthur Atkins, director of the Fraternal Songsters. With the theme "This Land Is Our Land," the concert will include songs of many lands and dances performed by artists of the Dance Center.

•

Save the night of May 25 for Anna Louise Strong—the True Sisters Clubhouse —150 W. 85th St., N.Y.C.

NEW YORK

Academic Freedom Week marked at the colleges by debates on right of Communists to teach

By Ione Kramer

Academic freedom concerns us, directly as students, more than it does the college's reputation, or even the faculty. . . . The reticence of a student to grapple verbally with ideas or confusions, with his teachers, is gradually becoming an ordinary event. . . .

—Editorial in Queens College student newspaper **Crown**, Apr. 22.

BARROWS DUNHAM
"A dangerous limitation. . . ."

LAST week Queens students grappled with the witch-hunt in celebration of Academic Freedom Week (designated annually by the Natl. Student Assn., a federation of student organizations in 300 colleges). Before a spirited audience of 200 at the college on April 22, a panel debated the question: "Should Communists Be Allowed to Teach?" Saying No were Clifford Foster, counsel for the American Comm. for Cultural Freedom, and Herbert Rommerstein, a Brooklyn College student and regional research director of Students for America—an organization which was refused a charter at N.Y.'s City College because of its anti-Semitism. Quaker and pacifist Bayard Rustin, exec. secy. of the War Resisters League, and Joseph Starobin, former foreign editor of the **Daily Worker**, who said Yes, won vigorous applause.

"EVERY BIAS" NEEDED: Describing today's criterion for a teacher as "What is best for the radar curtain?" Rustin declared: "Unless every bias is present, a school is not a university but a state school for the preservation of the past."

Starobin said the chief victims of the idea that Communists should not teach were not Communists, but those who refused to become informers or were the victims of imaginative informers. He cited Dr. Robert M. Hutchins, assoc. director of the Ford Foundation, who said on April 2:

"The right question about a teacher is whether he is competent. The teachers who have lost their jobs in the campaign against subversives have not been charged with doing anything to the minds of the children."

(At Queens, former English prof. Dudley Straus was suspended last January because he refused to answer questions about teaching associates. Nearly 100 Queens students attended each of the two days of his hearing before a trial board in March.)

"YOU'LL BE TOLD": Did Starobin think fascists should teach, a student asked. Along with a speaker from the floor, Starobin said a teacher who espoused an anti-democratic belief, anti-Semitism for example, should be classed as "incompetent" in a democracy.

Students questioned Foster's consistency in urging freedom of speech for all minorities (conservatives are the minority today, he said) but denying it to Communists. He said: "It makes no difference what you students think, you are going to be told what to do."

Rommerstein, who stressed the "Communist menace" as far back as 1927, urged students to take notes in class and report when a teacher injects communism into his teaching. Many objected.

"THE ODIOUS TECHNIQUE": At Columbia University, 50 students at an April 21 forum heard Dr. Barrows Dunham, former head of the Temple Univ. philosophy dept., who was fired for refusing to answer a Congressional committee; Stuart Easton, recipient of of the 1955 academic freedom award at City College, where he is a professor of history; and W. T. Couch, editor of **Collier's Encyclopedia.**

Finding that true statements bear penalties, Dunham said students soon learn "the odious technique of inventing opinions enough like the truth so they will not appear fools, but not so close to the truth as to appear unclean. . . . This is the most dangerous limitation of academic freedom."

Easton deplored the "illegitimate use of outside power" such as Congressional committees of "minute men or women" to force teachers to conform, or censor textbooks so that they become "denatured material written by eunuchs." Ridiculing the Feinberg Law which requires N.Y. teachers to swear they are not Communists, he said it created an atmosphere of ferreting for a teacher's private ideas. He was for the "planned risk" of Communist teachers, with competence as the only standard for hiring or firing, "or else you will have to get rid of all civil liberties."

"GRATUITOUS" SCROLL: During the week, a Columbia committee representing 46 student organizations sponsoring AF Week had circulated a scroll containing the Bill of Rights, asking students to reaffirm their faith in it by signing. Although many Columbia professors signed, president Grayson Kirk refused, calling it "an empty and gratuitous" gesture. Citing the theme of Columbia's centennial, "Man's Right to Knowledge and the Free Use Thereof," the campus newspaper **Spectator** criticized Kirk's action as "astonishing," and said:

"If that celebration was not gratuitous . . . then neither is the affirmation of the Bill of Rights."

Columbia's Young Republicans voted to dissociate themselves from the petition, but Queens students liked the idea, and borrowed the scroll.

At City College, playwright Elmer Rice urged students to "feel free to speak courageously and honestly," because "this is the only way we can change the current climate of opinion in this country."

EARL ROBINSON REVIEWS

'The Unforgotten Man'

By Earl Robinson

NOBODY who was anybody was doing it. Everybody who was anybody refused to touch it. The tenth anniversary of the death of one of our few truly great Presidents was coming up with almost none of the nation's press noticing it. There were to be many perfunctory tributes, a few editorials which approached the man's stature and importance, and many damns with faint praises. But a real recognition of what he meant to the people, some understanding of the tremendous historical period which molded him and which he helped to mold—all this was unforthcoming in the leading media of information in our land.

So it had to be done. So the GUARDIAN did it. They collected some professional writers, actors and musicians (nameless for economic security reasons) and made this record about the "Unforgotten Man."

PEOPLE IN MOTION: It begins with a quick picture of the fearsome today with quick vignettes of a wiretapper, a stoolpigeon, and a seller of a salve for atomic flash burns. This is contrasted with the 30's when the people were in motion, speaking out against injustice, moving into action against depression and for a decent life. And there is Franklin D. Roosevelt, leading the way and speaking the minds of the people. Many of his most famous speeches are included in part ("One Third of a Nation," "We're All Immigrants," "Unconditional Surrender," and his last beautiful words "The Work, My Friends, Is Peace . . ."). And the actor who speaks these lines is capable of making you forget at times that it is not really Roosevelt himself talking.

There are little moving dramatizations of the National Unemployment Day, two men in a flophouse of the 30's, the successful union organization drive. Very exciting near the end is the meeting of Americans and Russians at the Elbe, the meeting that broke Hitler's back.

WARM REMEMBRANCE: Also punctuating the whole record are the songs, well sung by solos and chorus, which bring back the feeling of the times. Outstanding are "Brother Can You Spare a Dime," "Talking Union," "PWA Blues," "Union Maid," "Ballad for Americans," and finally "Study War No More" and the United Nations Song.

There weren't enough time and money to do the best job. Things had to be patched together a bit, with no background symphony orchestra to smooth over the transitions. This was not meant to be the definitive work on the Roosevelt period. It is a record of warm remembrance and reminder. Of course the nobodies who are everybody have an unforgetting place in their hearts for Roosevelt. But "The Unforgotten Man" can help us move clearly and without fear in the times ahead.

THE UNFORGOTTEN MAN: 10" LP record of the Roosevelt Years, 1933-1945. Produced by the staff of the National Guardian. List, $3.95; Guardian readers' price, $3 ppd. (order from Roosevelt Record, 17 Murray St. N. Y. C. 7).

●

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WHAT'S HOLDING UP THE VACCINE?

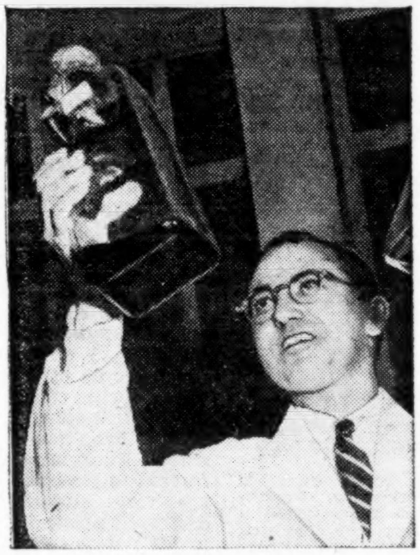
Govt. stalls polio control; organized protests lacking

MONTHS before the Salk anti-polio vaccine had been proved effective, Welfare Secy. Hobby reportedly had been advised by top aides to prepare a Federal control plan to assure widespread distribution, prevent black market operations and profiteering.

The N. Y. **Post**, which last week carried the reports, said the advice came from Dr. Martha Eliot, children's bureau chief in the Health, Education & Welfare Dept., and from Dr. Leonard Scheele, head of public service.

Up to last week-end Secy. Hobby had done nothing to assure the nation's parents of an adequate vaccine supply. A much-publicized closed-doors meeting last week with spokesmen for Big Medicine and the drug firms produced only the "recommendation" of an "advisory committee" to "recommend" voluntary state-by-state allocations. Another meeting was set up for April 27, with representatives of 48 organizations, including the AFL and CIO.

SUPPLIES DELAYED: The emphasis in Washington was still on "free enterprise" methods, no controls or at best toothless ones. The most optimistic prediction heard at Mrs. Hobby's conference was that enough vaccine might be produced to inoculate the most susceptible children, from 5-9, by August. Even at that it would mean that polio would continue to take its toll of the nation's children this season.



DR. JONAS SALK
Big medicine at the brake

New York City, which had undertaken to vaccinate all under 20 free of charge, had to postpone the inoculation of the first two public school grades scheduled for last week. The supply ordered by the Polio Foundation had not been delivered and no date could be set for the mass vaccinations. If the first four grades are to be vaccinated before school closes, the vaccine has to be on hand by May 9.

New York State Health Commissioner Hilleboe said the 5-9 year-olds in the public schools would have a prior claim to first vaccine shipments over any commercial demands, but there seemed to be no machinery for assuring that priority.

SCHUTZER PLAN IS "STUDIED": Throughout the rest of the country the distribution seemed chaotic, with only an assurance from the companies that first shipments were going South, where the polio season strikes earliest.

Arthur Schutzer's proposal to use Title 42, Sec. 263b of the U.S. Code, authorizing the Public Health Service to manufacture the vaccine since it is "not available" in sufficient quantities from private manufacturers, was exclusively reported in the GUARDIAN (4/25). Last week the GUARDIAN learned it was being "studied" in Washington.

Dr. Henry Feinberg, public relations committee chairman of the Co-ordinating Council of N. Y. county medical societies, went on TV last week to urge people "not to become hysterical or panicky." There was little panic; but there was little organized action to win the much-needed Federal controls before the danger season.

Live and Let Live

IN an open letter to President Eisenhower advertised in the N.Y. **Times**, 48 business, religious and professional leaders calling themselves the "Live and Let Live Group" (Box T 354, N.Y. **Times**, N.Y.) called for a "re-evaluation of our total foreign policy." Seeing no alternative to negotiation but a third world war, the signers urged these steps: recognition of Quemoy and Matsu as part of China, a U.S. declaration that it will not engage in any military action in their defense; submission to UN of the question of Formosa's and the Pescadores' permanent status; informal negotiation with the Peking government as a first step toward eventual recognition; a four-power conference to begin negotiations toward settling differences all over the world; U.S. initiative to ban nuclear weapons.

Signers include: Henry F. Grady, former U.S. Ambassador to India; C. Norman Stabler, financial editor of the N.Y. **Herald Tribune**; Father John C. Coleman, member of the N.Y. City Board of Education; Clarence Pickett, hon. secy., Amer. Friends Service Committee; retired Judge Edward P. Totten of California; Rabbi Louis D. Gross, editor, **The Jewish Examiner**, Brooklyn, N.Y.; William Harrison, assoc. editor, Boston **Chronicle**; Prof. Robert J. Havighurst, Univ. of Chicago; Rev. Fr. F. Hastings Smyth, Superior Society of the Catholic Commonwealth, Cambridge, Mass.

NEW YORK CALENDAR

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SUNDAY FORUM, MAY 1, 8:30 p.m. "May Day: Patriotism and Working Class Internationalism," with Dr. Herbert Aptheker. Alexander Trachtenberg, chairman. Jefferson School, 575 6th Av. $1.

THE CONTEMPORARY FORUM
206 W. 15th St. WA 4-5524
HIGHLIGHTS OF WESTERN ART. Lectures, illustrated with color slides. Lecturer: **Alice Dunham** (Mrs. Barrows Dunham). Thurs., May 5, 8:30 p.m.: "Contemporary Kaleidoscope." Tuition: $1 per session.

Premiere of new musical work **"BALLAD OF ASSER LEVI,"** story of first Jewish-American citizen & civil rights fighter in U.S. Sung by Jewish Peoples Philharmonic Chorus, Eugene Malek, conductor. Sat., May 14, 8 p.m., at Town Hall. Tickets: $1.20-$2.40 at 189 2nd Av. (2nd floor).

May Day Celebration in honor of **POP MINDEL.** Musical program, prominent speaker, buffet supper, dancing. Sat., April 30, 8:30 p.m., at 683 Allerton Av. (Bronx). Ausp: Bronx Comm. for Freedom of Political Prisoners. Contribution: $1.

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Wanted: PLUMBER, ELECTRICIAN, WATCH REPAIR, **RADIO REPAIR, LIQUOR STORE.** GUARDIAN office has been besieged with calls for these services. If you fit any of the above descriptions, an ad in the classified section will bring gratifying results.

APARTMENT WANTED

A GUARDIAN EDITOR needs large 4-5 rm. apt. for expanding family, lower, mid-town Manhattan preferred. Any offer or info. from Guardian readers gratefully received. Call WO 4-3960, Ext. 12, or write Box A, 17 Murray St., New York City 7.

WANTED

EITHER apt. to share with woman Manhattan, reasonable **OR** else 1½-rm. furn. apt. to rent. Box J, 17 Murray St., N. Y. C. 7.

A MUST record

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Enclosed is $3 for the record, "The Unforgotten Man." My brother has the record and as soon as I played it I knew I had to get it. This record is really and truthfully an inspiring work of art. I would like to congratulate the GUARDIAN staff and everyone else involved in the making of this record. It is great. **Rohn F. Webb**

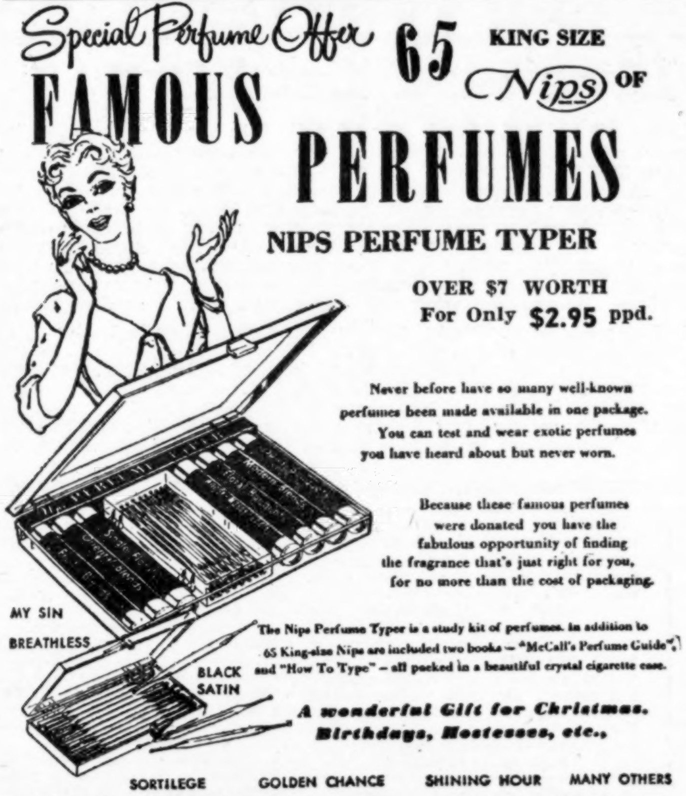
GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE

A mail order service offering consumer-tested merchandise at a saving.

Mother's Day Gifts

In this issue GBS presents a selection of items specifically designed as Mother's Day gifts. In order to save you the time, effort and money to re-pack and mail your gifts, GBS offers an added feature:

FREE GIFT SERVICE: *GBS will gift wrap, enclose a gift card and mail your purchase direct to your mother and in-law, too, without additional charge.*



Special Perfume Offer 65 KING SIZE Nips OF FAMOUS PERFUMES

NIPS PERFUME TYPER

OVER $7 WORTH For Only $2.95 ppd.

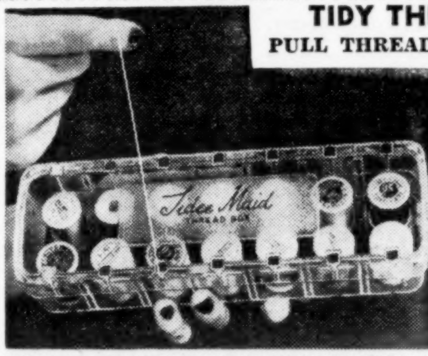
Never before have so many well-known perfumes been made available in one package. You can test and wear exotic perfumes you have heard about but never worn.

Because these famous perfumes were donated you have the fabulous opportunity of finding the fragrance that's just right for you, for no more than the cost of packaging.

The Nips Perfume Typer is a study kit of perfumes. In addition to 65 King-size Nips are included two books — "McCall's Perfume Guide", and "How To Type" — all packed in a beautiful crystal cigarette case.

A wonderful Gift for Christmas, Birthdays, Hostesses, etc.,

MY SIN BREATHLESS BLACK SATIN SORTILEGE GOLDEN CHANCE SHINING HOUR MANY OTHERS



TIDY THREAD BOX

PULL THREAD — SNIP IT OFF.

In this handsomely designed box your thread is always available for immediate use. Holds 14 spools of thread, each with an individually sharp stainless steel cutter.

ppd. $1.50

GUARDIAN BUYING SERVICE
17 Murray St., New York 7, N. Y.

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TOTAL ________

No COD's. Full payment must accompany each order. Make checks or money orders payable to Guardian Buying Service.

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The amazing SILICONE Ironing Board Cover

Cuts ironing time 25%

WONDER-COVER
A NEW AID FOR EASIER AND FASTER HOUSEKEEPING
THE AMAZING
SILICONE
IRONING BOARD
Guarantee

This ironing board cover is a wonderful work-saver. It REFLECTS HEAT so the article you iron is heated from below as well as from the iron. It also has these features:

SCORCH-RESISTANT—outlasts ordinary covers many times.

STAIN-PROOF—wipe with damp cloth to clean.

ADJUSTABLE—fits all standard size ironing boards.

POROUS—allows quick evaporation of steam.

COLOR FAST—colors will not come off.

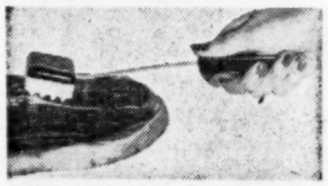
ppd. $1.50

LUXURIOUS IRISH LINEN Guest Towels

Made of the finest Irish linen in beautiful, solid colors—dark brown, wine, Kelly green, red or white. With spoked hemstitch at bottom. You can add your own embroidery or display as is. Here is a real luxury at a bargain price. 11¼"x19" after hemming. Sold in sets of six only.

½ doz. $2.95 ppd.

MEAT TENDERIZER



Makes expensive meats out of budget cuts!

Breaks fibres! Ideal for barbecuing. Simplifies addition of garlic and other spices.

Here is the perfect instrument to use on budget cuts of meat. It breaks the fibres of the meat without mashing it. The spring steel shaft causes the head to strike the meat rapidly and with great force. The acetate plastic head is nonpourous and will not absorb meat juices. Just rinse to clean.

ppd. $1

BOOKS

Searching light on a university

By Alice Citron

ONE RECALLS FONDLY the dozens of stories about the absent-minded professor of student years. The hero of these tales was so absorbed in a study of the higher things of life that the holding aloft of an umbrella on the sunniest of days was testimony to his scholarship. But, absent-minded or not, the college teacher has been flung into the maelstrom of the realities of the politics of his times. The war clouds obscure the tranquil ivied walls and the witch-hunters have trampled the serene green of the campus.

That one should feel free to seek the truth in the halls of learning has been declared truism by all scholars and students of democratic thought. The destruction of this hallowed tradition brought to our shores the great people of many countries during Hitler's temporary triumphs. Ironically, in the last years of his life, Albert Einstein's voice was forced to resound against the very onslaughts that destroyed academic freedom in his native Germany.

Martha Dodd

A SHELTER NO MORE: It is a rare thing to see between book covers a truthful portrayal of life on a college campus that deals with today's struggle to preserve scholarship, integrity and personal dignity. Martha Dodd in **The Searching Light*** portrays eloquently the horror that descends on Penfield University when the monied Board of Regents decrees that the faculty must sign a loyalty oath or forfeit the right to teach. Outwardly Penfield is one of the lovely small colleges parents dream of as the educational shelter for sons and daughters. But Penfield's professors are forced to face the "conform or else" edict, and the home of intellectual dreams becomes a battleground.

Prof. John Minot is the center of the struggle. His right to leadership has been earned by an honest liberalism and reputation as a creative interpreter of literature. When the storm bursts, Minot is at work on a study of Milton. His 30 years at Penfield have brought him the satisfaction of a respected reputation as a teacher. Like most professors he had expected to live out his life on the campus and devote his earned leisure in the years to come in continued study and writing. But this, the Board of Regents decreed, was not to be.

A LESSON IS LEARNED: The struggle against the oath does not proceed in a simple, straight pattern. The professors who resist do not start with a comprehensive knowledge of the brutalities of reaction. There are those like Minot and Cardoza who see that

> ". . . men who go on living in fear live on their knees. They swear first to this and then to that; they sign away their lives, their talent, science itself."

The professors have to learn, too, that repression against any minority leads to repression against all decent people. They have to learn that the Board of Regents is an octopus of reaction with many wily maneuvers quivering in its tentacles. At first, the illusion is current that proclaiming against the Communists will satisfy the enemy and stop the attack. They have to learn the wisdom of a student's words: "It's dangerous business." George, a student, says:

> "The Regents now know that half of you approve of repression in principle so they'll think they can wear you down to accept anything. It's very stupid."

A BRIGHTER FUTURE: The drama of the struggle, the titans who remain with it to the end, and the cowards who slink away, hold powerful lessons for all Americans. Martha Dodd turns a powerful spotlight on an important piece of American life. The reader will have the joy of meeting people of life and full dimensions.

This is one of the very important novels of 1955 and deserves the widest reading. Above all, Martha Dodd shows that a lost battle is not the end of all things. The John Minots and their courage are the promise of brighter tomorrows for democracy.

* *THE SEARCHING LIGHT by Martha Dodd. The Citadel Press, 222 Fourth Av., N.Y.C. 3., 350 pp., $3.50*

"The genius of the United States is not best or most in its executives or legislators, nor in its ambassadors or authors or colleges or churches or parlors, nor even in its newspapers or inventors — but always most in the common people." — WALT WHITMAN (Preface, 1855 edition, "Leaves of Grass.")